

The American Historical Review

EDUCATING CLIO

THE fifty-fourth annual meeting of the American Historical Association was held at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington on December 28, 29, and 30. With a registration of 1072, it was the largest of our annual meetings ever held in the national capital and the second largest in the history of the Association. There were 46 sessions, including dinner meetings and luncheon conferences, of which 42 were held at the Mayflower and one at each of the following: the Library of Congress, the National Archives, the Pan-American Union, and the Catholic University of America. The total number of papers and addresses was 76, and 64 briefer discussions were scheduled on the program.

What history can learn from other fields of knowledge, rather than what it can teach, was perhaps the dominant note of the meeting. Psychology, cultural anthropology, and sociology (and of these the greatest was sociology) were called upon to contribute to the broadening and vitalizing of Clio's education and thus to prepare her for the better performance of her role in the complex and confused world of today. An unprecedentedly large proportion of the speakers came from outside the historical fold, and few of the papers presented are likely to be regarded as contributions to history. Rationalization of motivation, cultural patterns, and group ethos were bravely in evidence, though exponents of the "total cultural approach" in historical study and their allies, the devotees of the New History propounded by James Harvey Robinson, must have raised a disapproving eyebrow at the unmistakable popularity of the sessions on military and diplomatic history.

Several sessions were evidently designed to appeal to students of history in general without regard to their particular fields and specialties. The first part of our report will be concerned with these.

Goodwin Watson, speaking on "Clio and Psyche" at a session on psychology and history, began by remarking that both historians and psychologists interpret human behavior. Psychology has increased its

usefulness to historians, he thought, as it has come to use units of behavior large enough to permit purposive organization, to give more attention to motives, to recognize unconscious forces in personality, and to study behavior in natural social situations. He suggested three areas where co-operation between historians and psychologists might prove especially fruitful: war and peace, democracy, and social change. Experiments by Lewin and his coworkers on democratic and autocratic control of groups of boys point to increase of hostility and of egocentrism under authoritarian control, and insistence on submission in home, school, and industry is likely to create a personality which demands a strong man in politics. In the discussion that followed, Franz Alexander made the point that the psychology of individual motivation ought not to be used to explain group motivation. He observed, further, that while historians had formerly taken men at the level of conscious motives and had, as a result, tended to idealize their motives, they had recently discovered the subconscious and had tended, in consequence, to exaggerate egoistic and anti-social motives, dismissing as "rationalization" reasons given to explain motivation. Rationalization, he argued, has been generally misunderstood. It is not necessarily false. Rationalization of our motives always means the selection of motives we regard as worthy and the disregard of those we are not proud of, but we act from a variety of motives, some selfish, some altruistic, and these latter are as real as any others and ought not to be dismissed. Sidney Ratner expressed the view that the relative plasticity of human nature is the psychological concept of primary value to historians.

The technique of cultural analysis was the subject of a largely attended session at which Geoffrey Gorer took for his theme "The Concept of Culture and Group Ethos". The ethos of a group within society he described as the common aims, attitudes, and ideals of the group, and at any given moment a society can be described in terms of the total of its group ethoses. The ethoses of different groups, he pointed out, do not carry the same weight, and the ethos of the predominating group, often numerically small, is erroneously represented as the ethos of the society. Examples were given from the history of ancient Athens and of medieval Europe. The necessity of taking into account underlying group ethoses was stressed, and it was explained that the number of socially effective groups in a given society can be discovered only by inspection and that the distinction between groups varies from very slight modifications to contrasts so great that only mutual integration in a common society prevents the groups from being treated as separate

societies. A distinction was drawn between the synchronic or cross-section view of society and the diachronic or long-term view, and the differences between a diachronic view and history as it is normally conceptualized were pointed out. The methods by which the culture of the society is maintained were set forth, the relationship of individual character and group ethos was discussed, and anthropological concepts which might be useful to history were outlined. In the second paper read at this session, "The Concept of Culture as a Tool for the Study of History", Helen Merrell Lynd observed that some historians, distrustful of nineteenth century evolutionary anthropology and false diffusionist theories, had decided that the concept of culture had nothing in it for them. But contemporary anthropologists, Mrs. Lynd continued, have developed the concept of culture as a tool for the discovery of the modes of feeling, thinking, and behaving characteristic of a particular society, the relationship among different aspects of the society, and the variations among subgroups in it. This tool, she thought, might make a difference in our study of the past in four ways: (1) in giving us greater awareness of some of the assumptions which may color our findings; (2) in helping in the selection of significant areas or units for study and providing for a basis of comparison among them; (3) in leading us to ask more penetrating questions of the period under study; and (4) in aiding in the resolution of some classic historical problems, for example, the "great man" theory of history versus the theory of individuals as molded by circumstances and economic determinism versus the determining role of ideas in shaping events.

The "Historical Position of Liberalism" was the subject of a paper by George H. Sabine presented at a session devoted to liberalism. The view taken was that the focus of liberalism has been a belief in the supreme social value of intelligence, as a guide to policy and in the form of a critical public opinion. Behind this belief lies a moral preference for a type of character in which action is controlled by a rational consideration of means and ends. Liberalism has passed through two stages—that in which its purpose was to secure freedom from political oppression and that in which it sought to equalize opportunity despite economic inequality. In the first stage it was assumed that intelligence is primarily a guide of self-interest and that it would become effective upon the removal of restraints upon freedom. In the second it was assumed that intelligence required favorable social conditions for its exercise. This has an important bearing on the continued existence of liberalism. A society that undergoes too heavy strain cannot maintain

the conditions necessary for an effective public opinion or for the orderly working of the political parties that are the organs of public opinion, and the result is the outlawing of opposition parties, dictatorship, and terrorism. The crucial issue now confronting liberalism is probably the question of whether it can deal constructively with economic paralysis in industrial societies, for the future seems to belong to that social philosophy which makes itself the vigorous exponent of the desire for security. In the second paper of the session, Arthur Salz's "Economic Liberalism Reinterpreted", it was remarked that economic liberalism so called, in contrast to philosophic or cultural liberalism, has been handed down to us in the form of a strictly logical, consistent system of economic thought that claims to present invariable economic laws deduced from nature. The opinion was expressed that an analysis of economic liberalism would result in the view that it is justified only insofar as it leads, in its implications, to the maintenance of those values and principles on which the framework of our civilization rests, in other words, that philosophic or cultural liberalism is the criterion by which economic liberalism is to be judged. As a prerequisite of such an analysis economic liberalism ought to be purified of popular distortions and misconceptions. For example, it can be shown, the speaker said, that private property in the means of production is not a necessary condition of economic liberalism.

At a session on the industrial city Leon S. Marshall dealt from a sociological point of view with aspects of the history of Manchester from 1750 to 1850 in a paper entitled "The Emergence of the First Industrial City". He called attention to the social and psychological effects on Manchester of the technological revolution in the cotton industry and to the increasing influence of Manchester upon national politics during the period under consideration. Most of the national movements appealed to sections of its population as possible solutions of the problems of its industrial milieu. The lower classes could not obtain their objectives, but the industrial capitalists and the middle classes were in a position to carry out the Benthamite philosophy, which they had adopted because of its correspondence with their own experience. Their most effective achievement was in local government. In a paper that followed, "The Industrial City: Center of Cultural Change", Ralph E. Turner considered his subject as a new phenomenon in history. Stress was laid upon the conditions which pervade the industrial city as a community, and these conditions were described as creating, on the one hand, social problems and, on the other, new modes of thinking about

problems. The industrial city was thus represented as a center of new developments affecting many aspects of life, and the reshaping of the behavior of an increasing proportion of the population which resulted from its development was viewed as the most fundamental change in culture since the rise of settled community life in the fifth millennium B. C. It was the speaker's opinion that the cultural forces now active in present world chaos have their origin in the industrial city and that the potentialities for cultural advance are to be discovered by analysis of this type of community. Both papers aroused lively discussion in which Herbert Heaton, Frederick L. Nussbaum, and J. W. Nash participated.

Population studies and history was the theme chosen for discussion at a session which was addressed by Frank Lorimer, whose subject was "The Historical Context of Population Study". Contemporary population studies, the speaker observed, are dominated by concepts of quantitative social science and interest in social planning which are remote from the theoretical interests of the age of classical economy and more akin to those of the seventeenth century scientists who were responsible for founding the Royal Society. Current population study, he pointed out, has developed chiefly in association with scientific institutes and administrative agencies rather than within academic departments. With the present trend toward cessation of population growth and the approach of population decrease in Western Europe and the United States, population has become a subject of increasing political importance, and as this phase of social science becomes more mature, there is likely to be increased interest in historical demography. In the discussion that followed Josiah C. Russell suggested that changes in population may have affected such conservative forces as religion, instancing as possible illustrations the rise of celibacy in an age of depopulation and the growth of Mormon polygamy in a time of rapid increase of population. James C. Malin described procedures employed in recent population studies in Kansas.

Four papers were read at a session on some neglected sources of social history. B. A. Botkin spoke in behalf of folklore, explaining why it has been neglected as a source of social history and advocating the collaboration of folklorist and historian in the writing of history in which the people are the historians as well as the history. The concept of folklore, he urged, should be extended to include the whole field of oral tradition and unlettered culture. Charles Seeger, addressing himself to the subject of folk music, declared that current concepts of total culture are not being utilized in musicology, suggested what might be

done by way of remedy both by the musicologist and the historian, and then considered from various points of view the importance of folk music as a source of social history. Hans Kurath, in a paper on speech as a source of social history, which was illustrated by maps showing the distribution of speech forms in the United States, presented some conclusions based upon his recently published *Handbook of the Linguistic Geography of New England*. Regionalism in American culture, he thought, is perhaps more clearly expressed in speech than by any other medium. He expressed the hope that the linguistic atlas of the United States, which has been in preparation for the last ten years, will provide a framework for dealing with folklore and other phases of folk culture. Roy E. Stryker called attention to the vast resources which modern photography offers to the social historian, illustrating his points by photographs most of which came from the files of the Farm Security Administration. The historian, he suggested, has no choice but to utilize these resources, for his public is being conditioned by the picture magazine, the rotogravure, and the newsreel. A brief paper, not scheduled on the program, was read by John G. Bradley, chief of the Division of Motion Pictures and Sound Recording of the National Archives. It dealt with the use of "naïve" historical records, such as camera shots and unplanned news broadcasts, in contrast with "sophisticated" sources, such as posed photographs and prepared newsreels.

The speakers at a conference on cultural conflict were Hans Kohn and Caroline F. Ware. The former, in discussing "Cultural Contact and Nationality Conflict", emphasized the part played by historical accident in bringing about the Nazi regime. He contended that the untimely death of Emperor Frederick III, a product of the German liberalism of 1848, is more important in accounting for the advent of Hitler than any mystical belief in Germany's soul, blood, or soil. Miss Ware spoke on "Cultural Groups in the United States". In contrasting these groups with the diverse cultural and nationality groups in Europe, she pointed out that in this country there are no national political rivalries to draw upon cultural differences and that the latter are not associated with places to which a long past binds them. The relations among national groups in the United States—Irish and German, for example—are the products of juxtaposition here, not of a carry-over of national rivalries from abroad. Cultural groups coming to the United States have been subjected first to the influence of the frontier and then to the influence of the city. In the initial stages of settlement the frontier had the effect either of stripping people of much of their cultural heritage or

of accentuating cultural values which could survive under frontier conditions only if rigorously maintained, and the former effect has been the more general. In later stages, cultural groups set in an urban industrial milieu have been subjected to what is, superficially, the most standardizing environment that the world has known, but surface conformity has obscured the process of adaptation, the results of which have been to modify substantially the dominant American cultural pattern as far as American urban life is concerned. Modifications of this Anglo-Saxon, Protestant, and bourgeois pattern have come from the increase of non-Anglo-Saxon elements in the population, the increasingly important role played in the United States by the Catholic Church, and the processes by which an industrial culture has been evolving within the framework of bourgeois tradition. Miss Ware concluded by emphasizing the need of a closer scrutiny of the urban society that has been so largely the product of new American groups.

Two institutions of importance in modern social, political, and cultural history received special consideration—the peasant communal family and the corporation. At a session devoted to the former papers were read on “The Zadruga, or the Communal Joint Family in the Balkans, and its Recent Evolution”, “The Chinese Joint Family, its Role and Recent Trends”, and “The Peasant Household under the Mir and the Kolkhoz in Modern Russian History”. Philip E. Mosely pointed out that most of the ethnographical and legal studies of the zadruga take insufficient account of the complex social environment within which it exists and that historical controversy has dealt largely with the question of its origins, which are obscure. On the basis of a number of field studies undertaken in order to determine its regional types, its place in the social setting, and its evolution through the last hundred years or so, the speaker presented some conclusions of his own, one of which was that the zadruga is not an institution distinct from the small family but rests on the same customary rules and attitudes. When these attitudes change, the zadruga is likely to disappear. Even when it disappears, however, the institution leaves behind it a valuable tradition of co-operative activity. Knight Biggerstaff began by reminding his audience that Chinese social and political institutions were established on the foundation of the joint family. It guaranteed economic security to all members of the family group, encouraged co-operation and mutual helpfulness among kinsmen, and served as the basic unit of local government, as the school for the training of children in the traditional social relationships,

and as one of the most powerful instruments for the perpetuation of traditional Chinese culture. Certain weaknesses of the family system were referred to, and the causes of its breakdown were considered. In the course of the discussion K. A. Wittfogel referred to certain materials that led him to believe that Mr. Biggerstaff had perhaps somewhat exaggerated the importance of the joint family in China, both in early and in recent times. Lazar Volin compared the mir with the modern kolkhoz (collective farm) from the standpoint of the peasant household. He emphasized the difference of the relation of the peasant to the two institutions, remarking that the peasant's relation to the kolkhoz resembles that of a worker to a factory using a system of payment by results. The mir was often criticized for being the tool of the well-to-do peasants and the government functionary, but the self-government of the kolkhoz is, if anything, even more of a fiction. Government interference in its affairs is much more active and minute than it was with the mir.

In a paper on "The Corporation and the Rise of National Socialism" Gerhard Colm dealt with the role of corporate business in bringing National Socialism to power in Germany. The strength of the Nazi movement, to be sure, did not originate in the support of corporate business interests, but its impending success brought them into alliance with it. It now appears—witness the exiled Thyssen—that business made a fatal miscalculation of the advantages it was to receive. Business under the Weimar Republic had made concessions to the need for government regulation, but never wholeheartedly. It fought the government when attempts were made to embark on constructive programs suited to a world in which laissez-faire was no longer a fact. The chief contribution of corporate business to the success of the Nazi party lay in this—that it kept the Republic weak as an instrument of social adjustment and control. In discussing Mr. Colm's paper Stephen Raushenbush referred to various influences exerted by the German corporations which were especially important in a disintegrating social and political milieu; and Sinclair W. Armstrong expressed the view that responsibility for the failure of the Republic attached to big business insofar as its policies contributed to the conditions in which National Socialism grew and as it gave its support to the Nazis when the Republic showed signs of weakness. Speaking at the same session on "The Study of the Social History of the American Corporation", Thomas C. Cochran criticized the writers of general histories for failing to emphasize the dominant part played by the corporation in the mechanism of modern society.

Studies are needed, he said, of the evolution of corporate government in contrast with democratic political government and of the tendencies toward bureaucracy in both cases. No satisfactory history has yet been written of government participation in business or of business participation in government. Few people realize that in the early nineteenth century most of the American states were in the banking and transportation businesses. Single companies often dominate the social and economic life of cities and counties, and great foundations exert a strong influence on the direction of higher learning and research. Such activities need first of all scholarly, objective recording and then a weaving of the resulting threads into a new pattern for the writing of recent history. David J. Saposs, in a rather elaborate discussion of Mr. Cochran's paper, agreed that the corporation is the all-pervading element in our economic system and that the scholarly study of its social history is indispensable.

The writing, teaching, and study of history received a large measure of attention. At one of the sessions on ancient history M. L. W. Laistner presented "Some Reflections on Latin Historical Writing in the Fifth Century", in which he stressed the importance of the Latin historians of that century for an understanding of the early medieval view of ancient history. Their writings were all compilations, he remarked, and most of them were strongly biographical in tone. He concluded with a general estimate of historical writing in the last century of the Western Empire. In the discussion of Mr. Laistner's paper Arthur E. R. Boak remarked that the Greek historical writing of the fifth and sixth centuries was superior to the Latin in quality and quantity, consisting, in addition to chronicles and epitomes, of local and topical histories, biographies and antiquarian studies, and above all, large-scale histories which were a conscious continuation of earlier works modeled on the great Greek historians of the past. William Francis McDonald made some observations upon the Christian philosophy of history, maintaining that the Christian conception of the historical process was an advance upon the provincialism of ancient historiography.

"Historiography of the Reformation during the Last Twenty Years" was the subject of a joint session of the Association and the American Society of Church History. Wilhelm Pauck, who presented the paper, referred to recent documentary publications, critical editions of the writings of the reformers and other writers of the Reformation period, and general interpretative works such as those of Brandt, Hermelink,

and Jachimsen. In an analysis of the tendencies in Reformation research since 1920 he commented upon the eager and intense interest in Luther on the part both of church and secular historians, though much of the resulting historical product has been appreciative rather than critical. Emphasis upon the revolutionary effects of religion on all phases of life in the sixteenth century he regarded as the chief tendency in Reformation studies in recent years, and he observed that in view of the recession of religious interest in the twentieth century this concentrated effort of historians to understand the effects of religion upon the civilization of a former age is especially important.

In a session on Chinese historiography Homer H. Dubs spoke on "Chinese Traditional Historiography as revealed in the Compilation and Commentaries on the Ts'ien-Han-Shu", and Karl A. Wittfogel dealt with "Chinese Modern Historiography". Mr. Dubs, after some remarks on the place held by the Ts'ien-Han-Shu among the Chinese standard histories and on its author, Pan Ku, discussed the sources on which the work was based. Chinese history, he pointed out, was not written to interpret events but to record them, and when Chinese historians dealt with causation or expressed moral judgments, such writing was not considered as history but was presented separately, being labeled as "eulogy", "discussion", etc. Mr. Wittfogel, after remarking ironically that the first contribution to the modernization of China has been the destruction of the greatest institutional and cultural historiography of the world, contrasted the new type of Chinese historical scholar with the old administrator-historian and pointed to textual criticism as the most conspicuous achievement in the first phase of modern Chinese historiography. The critical school, however, while contributing much to the clarification of difficult textual problems, especially in the field of Chinese ancient history, was not able to establish a new historiography comparable to the old. Modern approaches to history have led to the development of new schools of research which have produced excellent results, for example, in the history of the Shang dynasty (second half of the second millennium B. C.). It was the speaker's opinion that if China is given a fair opportunity in her development as a sovereign and progressive nation she may be expected eventually to become again the creator of a great historiography.

At a luncheon conference on Hispanic American history Francis Borgia Steck spoke on "The Church in the Writing of Hispanic American History". He declared that the Catholic historian, in common with his non-Catholic colleagues, wants the truth, the whole truth, and

nothing but the truth, that what he aims to achieve, and what he expects to find in the work of his colleagues, is "honest statement of fact and scientific objectivity in matters of historical interpretation". On the question, however, of scientific objectivity in matters of interpretation Father Steck said that the Catholic historian, when interpreting Hispanic American history, has a standard of right and wrong "drawn from the doctrine and the discipline bequeathed to mankind by Christ". When undertaking to get at the why and wherefore of Hispanic American history, "the Catholic historian does not cease being a Christian, does not discard his Christian philosophy of life, does not sit in judgment without the law book of Christ before him, does not pass sentence without consulting this law book carefully and weighing in the light of it all the evidence he was able to uncover in the course of his investigation". In conclusion the speaker paid a tribute to the scholarship of the late James Alexander Robertson. In a discussion of the paper W. H. Callcott spoke of the handicaps, as seen by a Protestant, of a Roman Catholic in dealing with church policies when those policies seem to a non-Catholic to have varied from country to country or from one period to another in the same country. He also raised two further questions: (1) Can a man limited by his profession to accept some policies as not open to question present or actually know the full truth of an issue in which the very life of his organization appears to be at stake? (2) Does not the long and specialized training of the clergy of itself impose unavoidable bias? He freely admitted that similar criticisms could be directed against almost any and all writers from some standpoints and did not impugn the honesty of Roman Catholic historians.

A largely attended luncheon conference on International Relations, presided over by Edward Mead Earle, which was held on the last day of the meeting, continued until 3:30 and resolved itself into a session on problems of the historian in 1914 and 1939. The opening paper, "The Role of Diplomatic History in Historiography", was read by Alfred Vagts, who discussed the manner in which diplomatic history acquired such prominence as a branch of historiography. He indicated that many of the early historians were retired diplomatists and that later, particularly in the United States, many retired historians became diplomatists. He entered some general reservations concerning the uncritical use of diplomatic documents as source material for the writing of history—limitations which were discussed further by the speakers who followed. A. Whitney Griswold spoke on the topic, "What the Documents do not tell concerning American Policy", indicating that official state

papers are necessarily selective and incomplete and frequently overlook some of the larger phases of American history which are pertinent to any discussion of American foreign relations. Oscar Jászi, in a paper entitled "What the Documents do not tell concerning War in Europe", discussed at some length the basic factors which entered into the War of 1914 and were projected over the years into the crises of 1939 and explained why, in his judgment, "essential causality will remain a hopelessly sealed book" for "a historiography based predominantly on diplomatic documents". C. Hartley Grattan wittily discussed "Shortcomings of the Professional Historian" and indicated that the journalist has, in his opinion, a high place in the writing of history, particularly in the twilight zone between history proper and current events. He was critical of the historian for failing to present his scholarly findings in a manner which will exert a compelling influence upon the course of human affairs and urged professors to "conduct students out of the mausoleum of 'accepted' history through the arbitrary twilight zone into the more distracting world" in which we all live as citizens as well as scholars. Hadley Cantril gave an illuminating talk on "Recording and Measuring Public Opinion", in which he pointed out that historians now have at their disposal a better qualitative and quantitative measure of public opinion than has heretofore been available and emphasized that it is possible for us not only to know what opinion is at a given moment (within the accepted limitations of the poll method) but also to measure the shift of opinion as events develop. This paper aroused a great deal of interest and elicited many questions.

A round table on American local history was directed primarily at an examination of the purposes of writing local history and a survey of some of the methods useful in collecting and presenting materials. Discussion was carried on by the chairman, Constance McLaughlin Green, by Leland D. Baldwin, Charles A. Barker, Gerald R. Capers, Hortense Powdermaker, and Vera Shlakman. The unit for purposes of local history was defined as a locality having obvious geographic or cultural unity, such as a concentrated urban group, a scattered agrarian community, a region, or a colony within a city. As Mr. Capers expressed it, American history has been written from the top down, and only recently has the necessity of studying it from the bottom up been appreciated. As long as historians were content to write political and diplomatic history, examination of local divergencies was not essential, but the story of how Americans have lived as individuals and communities can be told only on the basis of local history. Miss Shlakman

indicated how local history could supply economic data needed for historical generalization. Field study methods as worked out by the sociologists were outlined by Miss Powdermaker to show how the historian might profit by the experience of the cultural anthropologist. Some attention was given to the weaknesses of American local historical writing, especially its antiquarianism, though the point was made by Mr. Baldwin that the laborious factual compilations of the industrious antiquarian have been of great aid to the historian. Local history, it was agreed, has suffered from a lack of perspective on the part of writers which has prevented them from perceiving the relation of the local fragment to the whole—regional, national, or world-wide—though the difficulties involved in the synthetic process were recognized, especially in view of the paucity of reliable local studies, and Mr. Barker contended that local historians should write for the local public, not for the exclusive benefit of the compiler of general history. Wider professional recognition of the importance of local history is needed, and the inclusion of a round table on this subject in the program of the Association marks, it was felt, an advance toward placing local historical research in the position it should hold as the basic discipline of American social history.

At a luncheon conference of the National Council for the Social Studies, which was scheduled on the program, Guy Stanton Ford spoke on the timely subject of "History Teachers in War Time". He characterized the record of American historians in the first World War as highly honorable. The intolerance that accompanied our participation in the war was not a product of the Committee on Public Information or of any other propaganda agency. It developed on campuses and in school systems; it brought warnings and dismissals, attacks on textbooks and their authors, and the dropping of the German language from the curriculum. In an aroused democracy, Mr. Ford declared, the long, steady view of history is needed, and this suggests the heaviest responsibility of history teachers in war time.

A joint meeting of the Association and the National Council for the Social Studies was devoted to the place of European history in the school curriculum. No formal papers were presented, but Erling M. Hunt, Donnal V. Smith, Edwin A. Pahlow, and Irene Rice took part in a discussion of the subject. An account of the meeting is published in the Notes and News section of the February issue of *Social Education*.

Roy F. Nichols, addressing the Society of American Archivists, spoke of some of the problems with which the student is confronted

by the masses of data accumulating in the National Archives. In a paper entitled "Alice in Wonderland, or The Historian among the Archives" he argued for the organization within the Archives of a staff of research assistants to aid historical scholars by means of preliminary searches, selections, and digests.

Apart from the session on Latin historical writing in the fifth century, to which reference has been made, ancient history was represented by the address, entitled "*Polis and Idia in Periclean Athens*", delivered by the president of the Association, William Scott Ferguson, and a session at which John Albert Wilson presented a paper on "Propaganda in Egyptian Historical Inscriptions". Mr. Ferguson's address was published in the January issue of this *Review*. Mr. Wilson dwelt upon the element of pharaoh worship in ancient Egyptian epigraphic texts which are called historical. By the time of the Middle Kingdom these texts take on a conscious literary character, romanticizing pharaoh as a hero whose fortunes were the fortunes of the nation. Critical analysis of the texts is therefore necessary, but it appears that very little of the essential account of Egyptian history need be discarded as a result of such criticism. The majority of the pharaonic stories have a firm basis of fact.

Two sessions were devoted to a consideration of the question, "Medieval Culture, Ecclesiastical or Secular?" At the first of these Edgar N. Johnson opened the discussion with a general paper in which he endeavored to clear the ground by a brief definition of terms and then went on to argue that fundamentally medieval culture was secular because secular forces, both in the Mediterranean world and in the pagan North, continued to grow even after the adoption of Christianity and in spite of the opposition of the church, which itself became secularized. Mr. Johnson was followed by Sidney R. Packard, Sidney Painter, James L. Cate, and Josiah C. Russell, who addressed themselves to the question from the point of view, respectively, of the church, the state, economic life, and society. Mr. Packard preferred to limit the Middle Ages to the period prior to 1300 and, since the church was the most far-reaching and powerful institution of the period, he argued that there could be little question of the ecclesiastical character of medieval culture. Mr. Painter stressed the influence of ecclesiastics in the state, particularly in the earlier period of the Middle Ages, but politically, he thought, European culture became progressively more secular with the passage of time. Mr. Cate argued that economic activity, by very definition, is in any age secular, whether carried on by clerics or

laymen, while Mr. Russell raised the interesting question of whether population trends might not offer some clue to the predominantly ecclesiastical or secular character of a culture. He thought that there might be positive correlation between a growing population and a growing secular preoccupation. The brief discussion which followed revealed the lack of clear definition of terms. In the second session consideration was directed to ecclesiastical and secular elements in the literary, intellectual, and artistic life of the Middle Ages. There was more unity in the discussion than had been the case before, the consensus of judgment being that ecclesiastical and secular elements were much intermingled. Palmer A. Throop, however, raised a doubt in connection with vernacular literature, chiefly in France, which he found predominantly secular in tone. Cornelia C. Coulter detected a growing secular trend in Latin literature, which she considered from the viewpoint of form rather than of content. Gray C. Boyce discussed the impact of secular ideas from Greece, Rome, and the Muslim world, as well as the influence of the active secular life of the twelfth century. C. R. Morey closed the formal discussion, pointing out that both ecclesiastical and secular tendencies were observable in the realm of art. The papers were followed by a lively discussion, centering chiefly upon specific points which they had raised. The main question, as might have been expected, was left unanswered.

At the dinner of the Mediaeval Academy an address was delivered by Lynn Thorndike on "Elementary and Secondary Education in the Middle Ages". Mr. Thorndike showed that in the period of developed medieval civilization elementary and even secondary education, which necessarily underlay the work of the universities, was cheap and fairly general although neither free nor compulsory. He called attention to the length of time spent on the study of "grammar" (Latin language and literature) and the thoroughness of the training, the prevalence of lay schoolmasters, municipal schools, schools for girls, and special provision for the education of young children.

A business meeting of the Modern European History Section of the Association called out a large attendance. The following elections took place: Raymond Sontag as chairman for 1940; Walter L. Dorn as a member of the executive committee for a term of three years; Wesley F. Craven, O. J. Hale, Walter C. Langsam, Philip Mosely, and Wallace Notestein as members of the board of editors of the *Journal of Modern History*. Following the business meeting the members present listened

to a paper by Crane Brinton celebrating the sesquicentennial of the fall of the Bastille. It was read by Donald McKay in the absence of Mr. Brinton, who was prevented by illness from attending. The gist of the paper was that though the "anti-intellectualism" or "anti-rationalism" of our own age prevents us from looking at the French Revolution as historians like Aulard looked at it, taking the revolutionary word for the revolutionary deed, yet, in a world where newer and uglier myths are abroad than the myths of the French Revolution, we must not prove ourselves ungrateful offspring of the great democratic movements of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Without abandoning our critical job as modern historians, let us subscribe again to the principles of 1776 and 1789.

Under a caption that was intriguing or forbidding, depending on the point of view—"Cultural Patterns in Modern European History"—five historians looked at the same period of time from the angles of their respective special interests, leaving it to be discovered, as the chairman, Robert C. Binkley, remarked, whether the whole of what was said was greater than the sum of its parts. According to Walter L. Dorn the essential feature in the development of the national state was the conflict between the feudal aristocracy and the career bureaucracy, the latter resulting from the increasing complexity of the state as commerce and industry developed. In the opinion of Carlton J. H. Hayes the phenomenon of nationalism was not so much a pattern of culture as a thread which drew together various economic, political, and intellectual elements, especially romanticism and neo-classicism, and supplied the emotional needs of men in a society in which religious enthusiasm had waned. Dietrich Gerhard discussed the rise and spread of international organization. Frederick L. Nussbaum, after emphasizing the supra-national character of the activities of financiers in modern times, called attention to an attempt—unsuccessful, it is true—made by a group of international financiers, of whom Necker was one, to organize the East India trade on a basis of rational relations that would evade the irrational barriers maintained by the various European states. Ernst Posner stressed the importance of viewing European administrative development comparatively, referring to the work accomplished by Otto Hintze and indicating the directions along which such work could now be carried further.

M. M. Knappen and John C. Amundson presented papers at a session on Liberalism in England. Mr. Knappen posed the question, "Does the Frontier Theory of Democracy fit the History of English

Liberalism?" and expressed an opinion in the negative. Frederick J. Turner's theory of the relation of the frontier to democracy is not supported, he thought, by the history of the democratic movement in England, which has owed little to the influence of frontier conditions—in Ireland or the colonies or elsewhere. In his opinion England's growing mercantile and manufacturing interests offered the same sort of economic opportunity that free land would have afforded and therefore provided an economic basis for the growing democratic movement. The comforting conclusion was reached that those who are concerned about the future of democracy in an age of a closed world frontier may take heart from a consideration of the history of democracy in England, for neither in its origins nor in its development was it markedly dependent on frontier influences. The speaker admitted that the overseas frontier did provide something of a "safety valve" for certain types of unemployed and for ambitious workingmen discontented with the opportunities for advancement at home. He thought, however, that other means of meeting this need were available, means that have been supplied in the last half century by the development of trade unions, the Labor party, and social security legislation. H. Donaldson Jordan, who discussed Mr. Knappen's paper, questioned whether he had given adequate recognition to the influence of the colonies and the United States upon England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The democratic movement in England, Mr. Jordan submitted, could hardly be understood without any reference to the American Revolution, nor was a connection lacking between Gibbon Wakefield's systematic colonization movement of the 1830's and the democratic trends of that time. He suggested that overseas influence upon England should be looked for in the field of political thought, where the example of democratic processes in the colonies and the United States has been important, and in the evolving history of the British Commonwealth of Nations. In a paper on "The Liberal Variable and its Benthamite Expression in English Politics, 1832-1837" Mr. Amundson, basing his opinion on the activities and accomplishments of the Philosophical Radicals during the years indicated, expressed the view that the character of liberalism in any era depends upon the character of the special interest class supporting it and is determined by a variable, namely, the form of property in the given era. Liberalism cannot become the institutional property of a class and survive, for in that case it would become tradition and part of the *status quo*.

In a session on Slavs and Germans S. Harrison Thomson dealt at

some length with their cultural conflicts in Bohemia, in which he detected a pendulum-like swing of predominance between the two peoples, who have throughout maintained their separateness. In a paper entitled "Czech and German—Action, Reaction, Interaction" he periodized Bohemian history in terms of this shifting predominance. The precipitants of the acute phases of the conflict, he remarked, have always come from the outside. Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, who dealt with "Polish-German Relations in their Historical Development", pointed to two constant fundamental factors operative in Polish-German relations from the tenth century to the present: German eastward expansion, through military pressure and peaceful colonization, and the efforts of the Poles to resist it. To medieval developments along these lines could be traced, in the speaker's opinion, all the elements involved in the present Polish-German struggle. The two dynamic elements in this struggle appear to be the German minority within Poland and the German military power co-operating with that minority and ready to give it military assistance. "The Germans and the South Slavs" was the subject of a brief paper by Harry N. Howard, who saw in German-Slavic rivalry the main theme in the history of the Danubian region. The Third Reich has come into possession of all the great systems of communication with Southeastern Europe, the home of the South Slavs, but the latter still stand as a barrier along one of the world's great highways to world dominion. The speaker concluded with some reference to the conditions on which the maintenance of their independence may depend. Carl Joachim Friedrich, concerning himself with "The Slavic Component of German Culture", observed that German historical writing has been unduly influenced by Romantic preoccupation with German elements. From the point of view of folklore and folkways, he contended, German culture has become increasingly Slavic. Before the *altdeutsch* culture, a blend of Germanic with Latin and Alpine constituents, had reached its culmination, this first compound had begun to enter into a new amalgam with Slavic elements. Culturally speaking, no definite line of demarcation between the Germanic and the Slavic is justifiable. In the discussion that followed the papers Otakar Odložilík pointed to two conditions which, in his opinion, explained why Czech culture was able to persist in the face of German pressure. One was the early growth of national consciousness among the Czechs, the other a strong tendency to safeguard their individuality not only by quick absorption and transformation of German elements but also by a lively intercourse with other Slav peoples

and with countries beyond Germany. Fritz Epstein thought that a balanced judgment on the problem of Germanism and Slavism could not be reached without taking into account German-Russian relations.

Imperial Russia and the problem of nationality was the topic set for consideration at a session on Slavonic history. The only formal paper was read by Leonid I. Strakhovsky, who outlined "The Policy of the Imperial Russian Government towards National Minorities". He reminded his audience that the imperial government's policy towards national minorities was far less harsh than it is generally believed to have been and referred to the national minorities which have at one time or another enjoyed self-government. In the case of the Finns he contended that most of the measures taken with regard to them by the imperial government before the close of the nineteenth century really curtailed the domination of the Swedish minority and helped the Finnish people along the road to national status. John H. Wuorinen, O. P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, and Cyril L. Toumanoff took part in a scheduled discussion in which some points were made in amplification and criticism of the paper. There was an animated and at times vociferous discussion from the floor in the course of which attention was called to the disadvantages of the technique of "Don't prove it, yell it".

A luncheon conference on Far Eastern history was addressed by the Chinese ambassador to the United States, Dr. Hu Shih, who spoke on "The Modernization of China and Japan—A Comparative Study in Cultural Conflict", a subject on which he has thought and written much in recent years. His paper was a summary and restatement of his views. The question often used to be asked, "Why was Japan so successful in her task of modernization, and why was China so unsuccessful?" Latterly, however, a different problem has been posed. China, after long hesitation and resistance, has emerged as a nation fully modern in her outlook on life and feeling completely at home in the modern world, while it is suddenly discovered that Japan, after seventy years of apparently rapid modernization, has never been transformed in all the fundamental aspects of her national life. The question that now calls for an answer is, "Why has China at last succeeded in overthrowing her old civilization and in achieving a Chinese Renaissance, and why has Japan, after seven decades of extraordinarily successful modernization, yet failed to break up her 'solid core of ancient habit'?" The answer to both questions, the old and the new,

is to be found, Dr. Hu believes, in the different modes of modernization in the two countries. "Japan was modernized under the powerful leadership and control of a ruling class, and China, because of the non-existence of such control from above, was modernized through the long process of free contact, gradual diffusion, and voluntary following". The freedom that conditioned the Chinese Renaissance was impossible in Japan under her rigid militaristic and dynastic taboos. "The net outcome is that modern China has undoubtedly achieved more far-reaching and more profound transformations in the social, political, intellectual, and religious life than the so-called modern Japan has ever done in similar fields".

In the domain of United States history, agriculture and democracy was the subject of a joint session with the Agricultural History Society. Albert L. Demaree dealt with "The Farm Journals: their Editors and their Public, 1830-1860". After a few general comments on the vast majority of those short-lived ventures, the speaker turned his attention to a consideration of the editors, generalizing with regard to their background, training, interests, influence, etc. An analysis was presented of the general contents of the journals, and consideration was given to them as invaluable sources for the agricultural, economic, and social historian. In a paper on "The Land-Grant College: A Democratic Adaptation" Earle D. Ross, after referring to antecedents of the land-grant act of 1862, discussed the land-grant colleges as "state colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts" and also "national schools of science" which, in their development, reflected changing popular attitudes in the realms of politics, administration, industry, and science. It was his opinion that the instructional emphasis, research program, extension organization, and general "service" activity of the land-grant college have been responsive to popular desire to such an extent as to constitute it the peculiar "American way" in higher education. Speaking on "Woodrow Wilson's Agricultural Philosophy", Carl R. Woodward said that no President except Lincoln had sponsored measures of greater significance to agriculture. He gave credit to Walter Hines Page, David F. Houston, and A. F. Lever for having influenced Wilson in his ideas on agriculture and pointed out significant differences between Wilson's agricultural policies and those of the present administration.

A joint session with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association that aroused much interest was devoted to the role of the railroads in

American development. In a paper on "The Railroads as a Social Force" Richard C. Overton outlined their social effects in the United States during the last hundred years. Dividing his topic into chronological periods, he dealt with such subjects as the changing functions of the railroads as local feeders, supplements to water routes, and links with the midwest, transcontinentals, and industrial networks; the role of the railroads in the distribution of population and the development of new regions and new industries; the effect of the railroads on regionalism and nationalism; the railroads as creators of social inequalities and the reaction of society to this situation; and the railroad as a social servant and social responsibility. Leland H. Jenks discussed "The Railroads as an Economic Force". After referring to Schumpeter's theory of business cycles—that economic growth is started by innovations and new combinations of elements in the economic process and then proceeds through numerous sets of cyclical fluctuations under the impetus of such innovations and their consequences—Mr. Jenks distinguished three phases of railroad development that have involved innovation, namely, the railroad as an idea, the railroad as a construction enterprise, and the railroad as a producer of transportation services. Having discussed each of these, he concluded by emphasizing the need for drastic reorganization of the roads lest their collapse engulf our whole economic system and also in order that they may provide services for many years to come. Edward C. Campbell, who spoke on "The Railroads and the Scope of Government Activity", reviewed the relations that have existed between the government and the roads and urged the need of a new definition of the place of railroads within the scope of government activity. He concluded that past tendencies pointed to government ownership and operation. Perhaps the outstanding feature of the session was the very active and profitable discussion from the floor which followed the reading of the papers. It was led by Colonel William J. Wilgus, long consulting engineer of the New York Central, and Colonel Robert S. Henry of the Association of American Railroads. Colonel Wilgus expressed the belief that, with one third of the mileage of the country in bankruptcy and another third on the verge of it, the roads were unprepared to meet an emergency such as war, that government ownership was in the logic of events, and that the country should frankly face the situation and take steps looking to government ownership, with operation under the device known as the "public authority". Taking sharp issue with Colonel Wilgus, Colonel Henry contended that the steps suggested by the former should not be taken until the rail-

roads, under private ownership, had demonstrated conclusively their inability to meet the transportation needs of the country.

At a session on the study of nationality groups Maurice R. Davie presented "A Sociological Approach to the Study of Nationality Groups in the United States". He stressed the fact that while the immigrant's culture is modified toward the American type through the process of assimilation, American culture is also affected. There is give and take on both sides, though the native pattern remains dominant. The term syncretism was suggested to denote the fusion of cultures in a composite society to form a new culture in which elements from all component groups are represented, though in widely varying proportions. A significant field for research, in the speaker's opinion, is the influencing of American culture by immigrant groups. There is need of more descriptive local histories with reference to immigrant settlements and the transformation of their institutions. The research procedure involves a combination of the field survey technique and the historical method. The study of nationality groups in the United States is especially important at present, when Europe is torn by the minorities question. In the scheduled discussion that followed Mr. Davie's paper Ray A. Billington suggested that the preservation of cultural contributions may have been the result of lack of assimilation. Carlton C. Qualey proposed that an organization of students of nationality should be formed or that a session on nationality groups should be made a regular part of each annual meeting of the Association. Joseph S. Roucek questioned a few points in Mr. Davie's paper and suggested that in the study of nationality groups consideration might well be given to attempts on the part of foreign governments to influence their nationals in the United States, the links that bind the immigrant emotionally to his native country, and the influence of American immigrants on their native countries. O. O. Winther thought that in the study of nationality groups in the United States a sharp distinction should be made between European immigrant groups, on the one hand, and Negroes, Chinese, Japanese, and Indians, on the other. More study should be given, he urged, to the European background of immigrant groups. The session was largely attended, and there was spirited discussion from the floor.

"How is the Historian to explain the Phenomenon sometimes called the Flowering of New England?" At a session devoted to this question, which was organized and presided over by Ralph Henry Gabriel, discussion was carried on by Arthur E. Bestor, Merle Curti, Charles

Keller, Edward C. Kirkland, Perry Miller, and Richard H. Shryock. The absence of formal papers was noted with appreciation by the audience. It was brought out in the discussion that the "flowering" was a phenomenon of eastern Massachusetts, a region which enjoyed commercial and intellectual contacts with Europe and possessed an accumulation of wealth sufficient to make possible a class of intellectuals, whose minds were stimulated by new ideas and outlooks both of native and foreign origin. Of the latter, literary romanticism and the intuitive idealism of Kant were of importance. The intellectuals of eastern Massachusetts did not have to contend with ideologies that challenged the basic assumptions of their civilization, and the "flowering" was therefore the result both of a sense of security and of an urge for change. It expressed itself in the belles lettres of Cambridge and in the transcendentalism of Concord. It was not a fully developed intellectual awakening. Its triumphs were restricted not only in the realm of ideas but also in that of the fine arts. Literature was its chief product.

At a joint session with the Southern Historical Association Robert S. Cotterill, speaking on "Southern Nationalism on the Eve of Secession: A Product of External or Internal Forces?", saw in the conditions of settlement the explanation of why the South differed from the North, and Paul H. Buck examined the antecedents of the present economic state of the South in a paper on "The Genesis of the Nation's Problem in the South". In both papers major weight was given to internal conditions and forces rather than to national movements and policies. Benjamin B. Kendrick, who led the discussion, offered a number of critical comments on the views expressed in the papers, and the discussion from the floor was unusually lively. Of interest likewise to students of Southern history was a paper on "The Climatic Theory of the Plantation", presented by Edgar T. Thompson at a luncheon conference of the Agricultural History Society. This theory, which has been set forth by students of colonization, was criticized on several grounds. Plantation societies, the speaker remarked, are numerous enough to provide the materials for extensive comparative study, and knowledge of other plantation societies contributes indirectly to a better knowledge of the American South. "Industrial Aspects of the Southern Confederacy: Business and Government under the Stress of War" was the subject of a paper which Lester J. Cappon read at a luncheon conference on American industrial history. The stimulus given to Southern manufactures by the blockade and the Confederate government's demand for war supplies, with the resulting expansion of older enter-

prises and the establishment of new ones, was discussed, and the prolongation of the South's resistance was attributed to the fact that both private industries and government arsenals were widely scattered. The manufacturing interest, though constituting a small minority of the population, wielded considerable influence and constituted a typical cross section of Southern society. A paper on "The South's Development: The Population Factor" by Rupert B. Vance was presented at the session on population studies and history.

In "Some Reflections on American Neutrality", an address delivered at the dinner of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, James Phinney Baxter questioned the wisdom of a neutral government's extending its responsibility beyond the requirements of international law and remarked that generally it has been found inadvisable to make new rules which work to the disadvantage of one set of belligerents. American entrance into the present war would probably assure a victory for the Allies, but "we would run the risk of a new Versailles peace, a new legend of oppression in Germany, and new Hitlers". President Baxter closed with a spirited appreciation of Wilson's conception of peace without vindictiveness, without conquest, and without humiliation.

In the field of Hispanic American history a session was given to the subject of foreign elements in the A B C states, at which papers were read by S. G. Hanson, B. W. Diffie, and I. J. Cox. Mr. Hanson, whose subject was "Economic Influence of Foreign Communities in Argentina", analyzed the position of the British community there, with special reference to its alleged economic influence. In considering the future of foreign communities in Argentina, he pointed to the changes in the structure of the economy which might be anticipated from current population tendencies and observed that Argentina's problem as regards both capital and population, has become qualitative and selective. In the broadening concept of national interest he found a situation to which the existing foreign community must adapt itself or see the effectiveness of its counsel diminishing. Mr. Diffie, discussing "The Immigrant in Brazilian Politics", remarked that more than 4,600,000 immigrants have entered Brazil since 1820, about eighty-five per cent of whom have come from Italy, Portugal, Spain, Germany, and Japan. The Portuguese, Spanish, and Italians have been assimilated rapidly, but the Germans and Japanese, especially the former, have caused Brazil considerable concern. Both before the World War and recently there have been decided efforts to organize the Germans into political

parties. Alarmed by such activities Brazil has recently enacted laws that seriously curb the privileges of the foreigner and the naturalized citizen. The speaker, however, gave reasons for believing that there is no great danger to Brazil from immigrant activities.

Our cultural relations with Hispanic America were the subject of a session at which Concha Romero James described "The Work of the Pan-American Union in the Field of Intellectual Co-operation", Philip Leonard Green dwelt upon the need in the United States of "Education for Inter-American Friendship", and Irene A. Wright spoke on "Archival Ties that Bind". Mr. James reviewed in some detail the aims, interests, and activities of the Pan-American Union's Division of Intellectual Co-operation, of which he is chief. His account of the activities of the division was authoritative and impressive. Mr. Green looked upon education as the preparation behind the lines essential to the success of the crusade for inter-American understanding and insisted upon the civic obligation of all young men and women in our country to acquire the capacity for understanding other American peoples. Miss Wright recalled that as a student in the Archives of the Indies at Seville she found in that storehouse of old records a lively group of fellow Americans—from Colombia, Panama, Chile, Santo Domingo, and Cuba—and so came to realize that all Americans have in common not only the beginnings of their colonial history but also nearer and less erudite matters such as faith in the republican form of government and the conviction that there's no place like home in the western world. She suggested that the historical records of interest to all the Americas which are available in Washington be advertised in the form of an index or guide. The circulation of this would constitute an invitation to other Americans to come, use the records, and by their presence here form a livelier center of Pan-American intellectual interest than yet exists.

A joint session of the Association and the American Military Institute on the subject of land power and sea power, presided over by General Oliver L. Spaulding, U. S. A., retired, naturally proved attractive and called out a very large attendance. The first paper, that of Alfred Vagts on "Land and Sea Power in Europe, with Special Reference to Germany under the Second Reich", dealt with a group of facts little known to most of the audience. The speaker commented on the absence of military-naval co-ordination in imperial Germany, referred to the controlling influence of personalities on strategy and

military operations, and examined the background, outlook, and relation to imperialism of the army and navy officers. Under an arresting title, "The Influence of History on Sea Power: A Comment on American Naval Policy", A. Whitney Griswold called attention to developments since Mahan propounded his famous thesis of the influence of sea power on history, observing that economic, political, and military trends, some of which Mahan appreciated inadequately and some of which were not apparent in his day, have qualified the value of sea power to all nations and to the United States in particular. Mahan's own writings, he contended, by stimulating international naval construction, have resulted in contracting the potential command areas of every sea power, as have the mine, the submarine, and the airplane. It was his opinion, however, that history, while it has cast serious doubt on the value of sea power as a means of imperialistic expansion, has substantiated Mahan's conception of sea power as the first and surest bulwark of American security. General George C. Marshall, Chief of Staff, U. S. A., speaking on "National Organization for War", emphasized the dependence of American military policy and organization upon public opinion and the consequent importance of history teaching in the schools. "Personally, I am convinced", he said, "that the colossal wastefulness of our war organization in the past, and the near tragedies to which it has led us, have been due primarily to the character of our school textbooks and the ineffective manner in which history has been taught." Histories have been too much inclined, he thought, to emphasize victories and to gloss over mistakes, conveying a comfortable impression of our invincibility, which has been reflected in legislation that has sometimes resulted in neglect of the war machine. In conclusion General Marshall outlined what he regarded as an adequate military organization for the United States. Edward M. Earle, in opening the discussion, stressed the close interrelation between military policy and foreign policy and suggested the creation of a governmental body headed by the President and including undersecretaries of the several departments, chairmen of the appropriate Congressional committees, and representatives of the armed forces, to have under continuous advisement questions of grand strategy. Captain W. D. Puleston, author of a recent biography of Mahan, took issue with Mr. Griswold on a number of points, which, however, could not be followed up in the limited time available. Senator Elbert D. Thomas, addressing his comments to General Marshall's paper, remarked that in a democracy there are purposes to which the ideal of a continuously perfect military ef-

ficiency must be accommodated and that the military man must accept a wider responsibility than professional specialization requires. The session as a whole brought to the attention of the audience the interrelation of military and civil affairs as different aspects of a single subject which military men and historians should study as a whole.

The Bibliographical Society of America held two sessions for the reading of papers, one of them a joint session with the American Historical Association, in addition to a brief business meeting and a meeting of the council of the society. The topics of the papers were selected with reference to the 1939-40 centenaries of the invention of printing and of its introduction into America.

The Conference of State and Local Historical Societies held its thirty-fifth annual meeting in joint session with the Association. Twenty-four societies or other historical agencies were represented. Papers were read by Harlow Lindley of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, S. K. Stevens of the Pennsylvania Historical Commission, and James W. Moffitt of the Oklahoma Historical Society. The speaker last mentioned urged that a reorganization of the conference be taken in hand, recommended the appointment of a committee on policy and program, and presented some proposals of his own for the development of the conference into a more useful institution. A general discussion followed, in which C. C. Crittenden, the chairman of the meeting, Solon J. Buck, Victor H. Paltsits, A. R. Newsome, Thomas M. Owen, jr., and Jean Stephenson took part. A full account of the meeting may be secured upon request by addressing Mr. Crittenden of the North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh, or Dorothy C. Barck of the New York Historical Society, New York City, chairman and secretary, respectively, of the Conference of Historical Societies.

There was the customary luncheon conference of editorial staffs of historical reviews. A memorandum which had been prepared by a group of Washington historians was circulated to all present and served as a basis of discussion in which Julian P. Boyd, who presided, Randolph G. Adams, Bertha E. Josephson, Robert Hastings Nichols, and R. L. Schuyler took part. In the memorandum editors were urged to encourage the publication of interpretative articles as distinguished from those of factual presentation based on specialized research, articles dealing with concepts and methods used in other areas of knowledge, articles of a bibliographical character taking account of work that has been done on important topics and informed "by our interest in culture

as a functioning totality and by the concepts developed in the social sciences and the humanities", and articles placing the subject in its "total cultural setting". In the discussion it was agreed that interpretative articles are highly desirable, but it was pointed out that few good articles of this type are submitted to the historical journals. Such articles presuppose maturity of scholarship on the writer's part, and it is difficult to secure them. Bibliographical articles, it was observed, have been published in popular magazines, and the statement was made that editors of historical journals could obtain articles of this type if they sought them. The view was expressed that book reviews should be more critical in character. The question of a permanent organization of historical editors was broached, and it was resolved, upon motion by Miss Josephson, that a committee be appointed by the chairman to work on a program for the next editorial conference.

A highly commendable departure from precedent was the scheduling of the business meeting at 3:15 P. M. instead of late in the afternoon, when opportunity for discussion has necessarily been limited. It was announced on the program that the report of the Committee of Ten would be discussed, and the attendance was gratifyingly large.¹

THE EDITORS.

¹ For an account of the business meeting see *Historical News* below.

FRENCH INTRIGUE AT THE COURT OF QUEEN MARY

"An ambassador", wrote the Abbé de Vertot, "is a privileged spy, and often a dangerous enemy, for whom the law of nations demands respect." Few diplomatic careers of the sixteenth century are better illustrations of this remark than that of Antoine de Noailles, French ambassador to the court of Queen Mary of England.¹

Upon the accession of Mary in 1553 London became the focal point of European diplomacy. If the Emperor Charles V could succeed in establishing his son Philip upon the throne of England as Mary's husband, the sea route between Spain and the Netherlands would be secured, the Netherlands themselves would be saved from falling into the clutches of the king of France, as they seemed likely to do, and the

¹ Antoine de Noailles arrived in London on April 30, 1553, and left on June 4, 1556. His youngest brother Gilles served as *agent* until his second brother François arrived as ambassador on November 6, 1556. François left London on June 21, 1557, two weeks after war broke out between England and France. The correspondence of the three brothers with the French court is preserved in Archives du ministère des Affaires étrangères, Correspondance politique, Angleterre, Vols. IX-XX. The "more important" documents of Antoine de Noailles's embassy are printed in René Aubert de Vertot, *Ambassades de Messieurs de Noailles en Angleterre*, 5 vols., Leyden, 1763. (The quotation given is from Volume III, page 332, note.) As a matter of convenience I have followed the practice of Louis Wiesener in his *Jeunesse d'Elisabeth d'Angleterre* (Paris, 1878) of referring to Vertot's copies in the archives rather than to the originals, since the volumes containing the former are easier to use. In a few cases Vertot and his collaborators deliberately cut or falsified the text of the originals in order to save the reputations of Henry II and his envoys, but in no case relating to the present study are the transcripts untrustworthy. Armand Baschet's transcripts of some of the "less important" dispatches of Antoine and many of the "more important" dispatches of François and Gilles are useful but by no means exhaustive (Public Record Office, London, Transcripts 3, Bundles 20-23).

Most of the correspondence of Simon Renard, Noailles's Imperial rival, has been printed. For the year 1553 Royall Tyler's collection of Imperial and Spanish correspondence in *Calendar of State Papers, Spanish* (London, 1862-1916), Volume XI, is exhaustive. For the years 1554-58 see *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España* (Madrid, 1842—), III, 448-538; L. P. Gachard and C. Piot, eds., *Collection des voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas* (Brussels, 1874-82), IV, 83-453; Ch. Weiss, ed., *Papiers d'état du cardinal de Granvelle* (Paris, 1841-52), Vol. IV, *passim*; Patrick Fraser Tytler, *England under the Reigns of Edward VI and Mary* (London, 1839), Vol. II, *passim*. Through the kindness of the officials of the Public Record Office I have been enabled to consult Royall Tyler's transcripts of Imperial and Spanish material for 1554 (referred to hereafter as P.R.O., Tyler). Through the courtesy of Mr. and Mrs. Tyler themselves I have been able to use their transcripts for 1555-58 at Antigny-le-Château, par Arnay-le-Duc, Côte d'Or, France (referred to hereafter as Antigny, Tyler).

last link would be forged in the chain of Habsburg dominions encircling France. If Henry II could thwart the emperor's design by fostering popular opposition to the Spanish match, French influence in Scotland would be strengthened, the French army's northern flank would be protected against the danger of a surprise attack from Calais, and Calais itself might be regained either by intrigue or by agreement. The final decision of the long struggle between Habsburg and Valois seemed to depend upon developments in England.

Thus the rivalry between the French and Imperial ambassadors at Mary's court was perhaps the most dramatic and significant diplomatic duel which Tudor England witnessed. Greater French ambassadors than Noailles and greater Imperial or Spanish ambassadors than Simon Renard appeared at the courts of Tudor rulers, but never before or after did two diplomats of such marked and equally matched ability appear at the same time and with so much at stake. The prize for which they vied was something more than the conquest, bloodless or otherwise, of an England weakened by factional strife and religious dissension; it was nothing less than the hegemony of Europe.

The personalities of the rival ambassadors formed a curious contrast. Renard was a brilliant, highly ambitious, and highly vindictive *homme nouveau* who climbed to the pinnacle of fame by his own irresistible talents and sank to a pitiable end through his own faults of character. The Spanish marriage was at once the *chef-d'œuvre* of his career and the beginning of his ruin. There was no trace of the *homme nouveau*, however, in his antagonist. Friendships, honor, and high office came to Antoine, seigneur de Noailles, without striving and without price, and he died as most of his ancestors had, in the service and favor of his sovereign. A sense of the position to which he was born and of its responsibilities, an innate and inarticulate loyalty to king and country, a tolerant and undogmatic devotion to the religion of his forefathers, these were the guiding stars of his life. Lacking Renard's intellectual brilliance, he was possessed of other qualities which eventually gave him the substance (if not the appearance) of victory over his rival. A certain dogged and naïve perseverance, a naturally sanguine temperament, and an abiding sense of the righteousness of his cause were the qualities which stood him in best stead as a diplomat. It is one of the ironies of history that Renard, the *parvenu*, was cast in the role of confidant and father-confessor to royalty while the part of diplomatic conspirator and backstairs intriguer fell to Noailles, honorable descendant of an ancient and honorable family.

The primary duties of a sixteenth century ambassador were two-

fold: to keep his own government informed and to influence the policy of the government to which he was accredited. Since neither Noailles nor Renard spoke English, successful performance of these duties depended largely upon the quality of their informers and agents. But since Renard could depend upon official sources for his information and upon the queen for sympathetic collaboration in influencing the conduct of English policy, he could rely mainly upon his own talents to gain his ends. With Noailles it was otherwise. To find out what was happening at court and to thwart his rival's diplomatic machinations he was forced to depend upon others. The distinction between informers and agents is, of course, largely artificial, but those who frequented the French embassy in Mary's reign can be divided roughly into two classes: spies or informers, usually foreigners, who generally received compensation for their services; and agents or sympathizers, almost invariably Englishmen, who seldom asked for monetary reward. What follows is an attempt to present a slightly clearer picture of the small army of spies and agents which kept the French embassy in touch with every conspiracy of the reign and helped to make posterity associate the name of Antoine de Noailles with the Mendozas and Chauvelins of history.

The organization of a staff of informers and agents was no easy task for Noailles. There was no longer any avowedly pro-French faction in the privy council as there had been when the Duke of Northumberland was sedulously cultivating Henry II's friendship; and the majority of the English gentry and middle classes were, if anything, pro-Habsburg rather than pro-Valois.² During Northumberland's conspiracy and again during Wyatt's rebellion both Henry II and Noailles had occasion to notice that Englishmen had no more relish for French intervention than for Imperial domination.³ But Noailles had certain undeniable advantages. Every merchant who traded with France and feared Spanish competition, every 'prentice who hated the foreigner in general and the Spaniard in particular, every heretic who had heard stories of the Spanish Inquisition, and every young gentleman who saw his advancement at court blocked by Philip's favorites was a potential French spy or agent. So long as Noailles could conceal from the English his sovereign's desire to make selfish profit out of England's misery, he could count upon the active support of dozens of those

² See, for example, Vertot, II, 43, and *Cal. St. Ps., Span.*, XI, 19.

³ For two particularly illuminating illustrations of this fact see Edmund Lodge, *Illustrations of British History* (London, 1838), I, 226-27 (an undated letter from the council, written possibly after Mary's triumph in July, 1553, but representative of the views of many of Northumberland's unwilling accomplices), and *Cobbett's Complete Collection of State Trials* (London, 1809), I, 883.

turbulent patriots who were later to cause Elizabeth so much trouble and bring her so much glory.

The mere number of Noailles's informers in any particular month was a fairly accurate barometer of the political atmosphere. After the departure of his predecessor Boisdauphin in June, 1553, the new ambassador found himself without any spies whatever. "I decided", he wrote, "to send out two or three gentlemen and set each of them to procure some new informer by himself; Fortune was so kind that she brought me two."⁴ This was a beginning. As the Spanish marriage negotiations progressed, many more spies presented themselves until by the end of the year Noailles was almost as well informed about events at court as was Renard himself and far better posted on the state of public opinion than his rival.

The collapse of Wyatt's rebellion, in which he was deeply implicated, spelled disaster for Noailles's intelligence service. The council was afraid to demand his recall, but Mary and Renard naturally did their best to render him incapable of stirring up sedition in the future. His couriers were delayed, his agents imprisoned, his informers frightened into inactivity, and visitors to his house were reprimanded. At the end of March, 1554, he was moved to Bridewell, the house which till then had been Renard's, and one of Renard's agents was planted on his doorstep. By the end of April not even his creditors dared visit him, and he was complaining that he was more a prisoner than an ambassador.⁵ Practically nothing was left of his staff of informers. He wrote to Henry II:

For a long time I have been trying over here to gain servants who are faithful and devoted to your Majesty and whom you might use to gather information in this realm. This seemed very necessary in view of the fact that on three occasions I had already lost all those from whom I could get trustworthy reports to pass on to you.⁶

Noailles's dispatches during the spring of 1554 show how poorly informed he was on all details of Philip's voyage to England, but after the marriage ceremony in July his position improved, and he spoke of having informers in the "company" of the royal bride and groom. During the following spring (1555) the government discovered several

⁴ Noailles to Boisdauphin, June 30, 1553, A.A.E., Angleterre, Vol. IX, f. 37.

⁵ Tytler, II, 353-54; Vertot, III, 122-23, 131, 134, 188; *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, Mary* (London, 1861), p. 80; A.A.E., Angleterre, Vol. IX, ff. 138, 140, 157, 192.

⁶ Noailles to Henry II, Mar. 31, 1554, A.A.E., Angleterre, Vol. IX, f. 157. The "three occasions" upon which Noailles lost all his spies were probably just after Boisdauphin's departure in June, 1553, after Northumberland's collapse a month later, and after Wyatt's defeat in February, 1554.

of his spies and treated them so severely that he found it difficult to persuade others to join the French service, and by December, 1555, he was complaining that his informers had lost favor and were doing poor work. A month later, however, he was once more in close touch both with the court and with the little band of conspirators who were plotting to seize the mint and overthrow the government under the leadership of Sir Henry Dudley. When he left England in June, 1556, he wrote proudly of the efficient staff which he was leaving to his brother Gilles, and a year later François de Noailles testified warmly to the value of the spies whom his elder brother had left him.⁷

Noailles's informers were a motley group. They were of almost every nationality in Western Europe and came from almost every walk of life. Englishmen, Scots, Italians, Spaniards, Flemings, and Frenchmen offered him news and gossip, sometimes valuable, more often worthless; gentlemen and merchants, heretics and fugitives from justice, military adventurers and professional secretmongers were among those who visited him to tell what they knew of the state of the queen's health, the disputes in the council, the debates in parliament, or the state of opinion in London or Devonshire. A mere list of a few of the more obscure individuals who volunteered information shows how widely his net was cast: a French bookseller who was close to Renard's household; a French painter named Nicolas who earned £400 a year in Mary's service and had entree into the lord treasurer's household; one of the queen's maids who talked freely to Noailles's maid about the course of Mary's supposed pregnancy; a Flemish servant of Lord Paget's who was finally arrested in Brussels as a French spy; a servant of Cardinal Pole's named Claude; one of Edward Courtenay's equerries named Mark Anthony; a Scottish physician named Michael Durand, whom Mary of Guise suspected of having poisoned her husband, King James V of Scotland; a Spaniard who came to England in Philip's train; and possibly Francesco Bernardo, formerly a spy for several English ambassadors abroad, and Bartolomeo Compagni, a Florentine merchant, both of whom Renard suspected of being French partisans.⁸

⁷ Vertot, III, 302; IV, 325; V, 234, 342 ff., 371. A.A.E., Angleterre, Vol. XIII, ff. 216, 222.

⁸ References to minor informers are scattered all through Noailles's dispatches. The following are of most interest: Vertot, II, 135, 168-69, 174, 217, 219, 237, 274-75, 342; III, 178-79; IV, 61, 81, 155-56, 166, 264, 276, 297-98, 307-308, 325, 332; V, 76, 78-83, 114, 167, 191. A.A.E., Angleterre, Vol. IX, ff. 61, 80, 169, 327-28, 361-62, 401, 453, 505, 527; Vol. XIII, ff. 108, 128-29, 133, 230-31; Vol. XVIII, f. 485. *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian* (London, 1864—), Vol. VI, pt. 1, p. 146; Vol. VI, pt. II, p. 1083. Weiss, IV, 318, 330.

The French embassy's fees to such persons varied greatly, depending on the value of the information and the status of the informer. Ten or twenty crowns was the usual amount although it might run as high as two hundred. Some spies were given a regular salary of ten crowns a month by the ambassador or received a larger pension directly from the French court.⁹

Apart from incidental and often anonymous informers, Noailles had certain more stable and important sources of information. His own permanent staff of couriers and secretaries was one such source. Naturally most of them were French, but Étienne, his "best cook", had married an Englishwoman and sometimes picked up useful information through her; his groom was a Scot; and apparently his secretary, Durand, who spoke English and performed the functions of a modern chargé d'affaires under all three of the Noailles brothers in London, served as liaison with the embassy's spies.¹⁰ The French couriers, some of whom seem to have spoken English, often garnered valuable information on their trips between Edinburgh, London, and Boulogne.¹¹

Another relatively stable source of information was the Venetian embassy. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian ambassador in London during the first year of Noailles's residence in England, was one of those Venetian *politiques* who believed that the safety of his state depended upon a perfect balance of power between Habsburg and Valois, and when the Spanish marriage negotiations began he thought it his duty to throw the whole weight of his influence on the side of France. He and Noailles conferred together "as two devoted servants do about the affairs of their masters", and Noailles profited much from the Venetian's fine staff of informers, his friendship with Courtenay, and his knowledge of the English scene.¹² Soranzo's successor, Giovanni Michiele, was under strict orders from his government not to take sides,

⁹ See François de Noailles's account of his extraordinary expenditures (A.A.E., Angleterre, Vol. XVIII, ff. 482-83). Antoine de Noailles's account has been lost, but the sums mentioned seem to have been fairly standardized.

¹⁰ On Noailles's household servants see Antoine to François de Noailles, May [30?], 1556, *ibid.*, Vol. IX, f. 648. On Durand, *ibid.*, ff. 291, 306-309, and Vol. XIII, ff. 19, 52, 58, 163, 168, 197, 207; also Renard to Charles V, May 6, 1555, Antigny, Tyler; and Vertot, IV, 294, 299.

¹¹ Noailles's most trusted couriers were La Marque and Le Claus (or Du Claus), both previously attached to the service of his family. The names of some two dozen others are recorded in his dispatches. One courier, to whom the ambassador invariably referred as "le protestant", was a servant of the Guises and may have been Scotch or English, but Noailles was seldom able to persuade Englishmen to carry his dispatches.

¹² Vertot, II, 212 ff. Just how closely Soranzo co-operated with Noailles we do not know because all but a few of the Venetian's dispatches have been lost. On Soranzo's

and the best testimony to his impartiality is the fact that Renard thought him pro-French while Gilles de Noailles thought him "fort grand Impérial". But he made a point of getting on friendly terms with Antoine de Noailles by occasionally giving him information, and his secretary, Antonio Mazza, like Soranzo's *ordinaire*, often talked freely to the French ambassadors.¹³

Noailles was inclined to overvalue the ability, though not the integrity, of one of his most loquacious informers, Vincenzo Parpaglia, abbot of San Salvatore, who came to England in Cardinal Pole's suite in November, 1554. Devoted to Pole, to his exiled sovereign, Emmanuel Philibert of Savoy, and to the cause of European peace, Parpaglia worked openly and frankly for a peace settlement in the French interest and incidentally kept Noailles in touch with everything that happened in the cardinal's household.¹⁴

In addition to having informers in the Venetian embassy and in the papal legate's household, Noailles was able to tap the secrets of the Imperial embassy itself. In April, 1554, Wotton, the English ambassador at Paris, wrote to Mary: "All the secrettes which your highnes doth communicate to themperors Ambassador ar advertysed streight wayes by the meanes of a corrupt secretary of the sayd Emperors Ambassador, who declaryth it to thambassador of Fraunce."¹⁵ Sir William Pickering, the source of Wotton's information, was one of the conspirators who had been in closest contact with Noailles some weeks before the outbreak of Wyatt's rebellion; he was therefore probably in a position to know. When Renard was shown Wotton's dispatch, he decided that the spy in question must be one Guillaume Mondrolois, a professional informer who had served both English and Imperial ambassadors on previous occasions (including Renard himself while he was ambassador to France) and who had offered Renard his services as interpreter some months before.¹⁶

activities in general see P. Friedmann, *Les dépêches de Giovanni Michiel* (Venice, 1869), pp. xxx-xxxii; also *Cal. St. Ps., Span.*, Vol. XI, index, and *Cal. St. Ps., Ven.*, Vol. V, preface and index.

¹³ A.A.E., Angleterre, Vol. XIII, ff. 34^v, 128; Weiss, IV, 318-19; *Cal. St. Ps., Ven.*, Vol. VI, pt. 1, pp. 99-100.

¹⁴ Noailles was painfully surprised when Montmorency at the conference of Marcq (1555) found Parpaglia something less than the adroit French agent which the ambassador was sure he would be. Vertot, IV, 32, 42, 308-309, 354-55; V, 338.

¹⁵ State Papers Domestic, 69, Vol. IV, no. 198, P.R.O. See *Cal. St. Ps., For., Mary*, pp. 78-79.

¹⁶ Renard had already dismissed Mondrolois because he was acting suspiciously, and by April, 1554, the informer was in Brussels. Renard to Charles V, May 6, 1554, P.R.O., Tyler, pp. 390-91.

A year later (in March, 1555) Noailles was making use of someone "who was formerly in the Imperial ambassador's service".¹⁷ This may have been Mondrolois; on the other hand it may have been Étienne Quiclet, a native of Besançon, who had regularly sold Imperial secrets to the French government while he was Renard's *maître d'hôtel* in Paris (1549-51). According to his own story after his treason was discovered, Quiclet had an interview with Henry II in 1554 at which Montmorency proposed that he go to England, attach himself to Renard as before, and report everything he learned to the French government; Quiclet agreed and crossed to London, presumably sometime in 1554. After he had betrayed Renard's cipher and other documents of importance to the French over the course of a year or more, one of his packets addressed to Henry II's secretary was intercepted near Dôle in December, 1555, and a rapid investigation revealed the details of his espionage.¹⁸ There is no evidence of any direct contact between Quiclet and Noailles, and the circumstances of the former's exposure suggest that he dealt with the French court directly, not through the French ambassador; but the absence of any mention of the traitor in Noailles's dispatches is no proof that the ambassador was unaware of Quiclet's services to Henry II.

Noailles himself considered that his two most valuable informers were Jean de Fontenay, sieur de Berteville, a French exile, and Sir John Leigh, an English gentleman. They deserve particular notice not because of the information which they gave him—it was often inaccurate and only occasionally of real importance—but because Berteville was perfectly typical of his professional spies and Leigh of his semiprofessional English informers.

Berteville was a soldier of fortune by profession. He had fled to England in the reign of Henry VIII after his family property had been confiscated, his mother imprisoned, and his brother executed for some treasonable offense. During the reign of Edward VI he made a living by importing Gascon wine, serving as a mercenary in the English army, and selling political and military information to anyone who would

¹⁷ Montmorency to Noailles, Mar. 31, 1555, A.A.E., Angleterre, Vol. IX, f. 401.

¹⁸ Quiclet's treason is thoroughly discussed in Lucien Febvre, *Philippe II et la Franche-Comté* (Paris, 1912), pp. 149-56. See also "Vunière" (pseudonym for Neuvière), *Étude historique sur Simon Renard* (Limoges, 1878—lithographed), pp. 113-20; and Weiss, V, 1-3 and ff. Royall Tyler thinks that Quiclet may have been in England as early as October, 1553 (*Cal. St. Ps., Span.*, XI, 249, n., and p. 274; P.R.O., Tyler, May 6, 1554, p. 390, n.), but this does not agree with Quiclet's own deposition.

buy it. He distinguished himself as a captain at the battle of Pinkie, became a naturalized English citizen in 1549, and was granted a life annuity of £250 by the protector in the same year. The rumor was that he was receiving a fat pension from France at the same time. In October, 1549, he was thrown into the Tower and remained there until Mary came to the throne. The nature of his offense is difficult to determine, but it appears that both the English authorities and the French ambassador feared that he was playing a double game.¹⁹

He was released from the Tower in December, 1553. Penniless and in debt, he wrote Montmorency begging that he be pardoned and allowed to return to France in the king's service. The constable directed Noailles to tell him that if he stayed in England for a while and worked faithfully as a spy, his request would be granted. Noailles was suspicious of Berteville's motives at first, but after getting in touch with him early in January, 1554, he reported: "He will have means enough of discovering several things from the Imperialists, and even from their ambassador, since he is welcome in this quarter."²⁰ Berteville had, in fact, gone to Renard and offered his advice and services in case the emperor wished to attack Normandy, and Renard had felt inclined to trust him.²¹ After Wyatt's rebellion Renard had him imprisoned on suspicion of being implicated in the rising; but no charge was found against him, and he was soon released upon condition of staying two miles away from the court.²² Twice during 1554 and once in the fall of 1555 he begged to be allowed to return to France, but Noailles was able to keep him in England by gifts of one hundred crowns on each occasion, together with a pension of twenty crowns a month.²³

It is highly doubtful whether Berteville's information was worth the money. At the end of 1555 Noailles himself realized that his two best informers had lost much of their influence at court and decided that, although he would keep them on his pay roll, he would not spend any more of the king's money than was absolutely necessary.²⁴ But

¹⁹ *Acts of the Privy Council of England* (London, 1890—), new series, II, 110, 203; III, 486. *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Edward VI* (London, 1924-29), I, 354, 367; II, 181; V, 401. *Cal. St. Ps., Span.*, IX, lv, 387, 463. A. F. Pollard, *England under Protector Somerset* (London, 1900), pp. 158-59, n.

²⁰ Noailles to Montmorency, Jan. 12, 1554, A.A.E., Angleterre, Vol. IX, f. 117^v.

²¹ *Cal. St. Ps., Span.*, XI, 472. See also Berteville to Montmorency, Jan. 12, 1554, A.A.E., Angleterre, Vol. IX, f. 116; and Vertot, III, 3.

²² Noailles to Montmorency, Apr. 3, 1553, A.A.E., Angleterre, Vol. IX, f. 159.

²³ *Ibid.*, ff. 125, 248, 255, 363, 530, 539; Vertot, III, 210-11, 227.

²⁴ Vertot, V, 234.

already the chance had arrived for which Berteville was waiting: sometime in December, 1555, he introduced Noailles to Sir Henry Dudley. After hearing the details of Dudley's plot, Henry II sent Noailles Berteville's pardon by return courier—to be held in reserve until the plot was carried out.²⁵ Thus the almost boundless confidence which Noailles had in his most picturesque, most unreliable, and most spendthrift informer bore fruit of a strange sort in the ambassador's participation in the last serious conspiracy of Mary's reign.

Sir John Leigh (1502-66), scion of an old Surrey family, was a moderately wealthy Catholic gentleman who spent much of his life in foreign travel. When his uncle (Sir John Leigh of Stockwell) died childless in 1523, he inherited the family estates in Surrey, and by the time of his death he was possessed of lands scattered over nine southern counties.²⁶ He was related to the Howard family, but the exact nature of the relationship is not clear. According to both Van der Delft and Noailles, he was half-brother to Queen Catherine Howard, Henry VIII's fifth wife, but the evidence of family wills suggests that Catherine was the niece of his wife, Elizabeth Culpeper.²⁷

His career is especially difficult to trace because there were so many others in the sixteenth century, not all of them his relatives, who bore the same name. The sketch which follows, therefore, is based largely upon conjecture and upon inference from the few well-established facts about his character and his activities during Mary's reign.

In his youth Leigh was in Wolsey's service for a time. Piety and love of travel later induced him to visit the Holy Sepulchre,²⁸ and in the fall of 1538 he was in Italy in company with his brother-in-law, Sir Thomas Wyatt the Elder. While there he had two conversations with Reginald Pole, a fact which aroused the suspicions of Cromwell and Henry VIII. Upon their return to England in January, 1541, both Wyatt and Leigh were imprisoned, but Wyatt was pardoned in the following March, Leigh in May, after each had written lengthy ex-

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 256-57, 262-64, 298-99; Berteville to Montmorency, [Dec., 1555], A.A.E., Angleterre, Vol. IX, f. 660.

²⁶ The fullest account of Leigh is in J. W. Burgon, *Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham* (London, 1839), I, 122-27, and app. ix. See also *Victoria History of the County of Surrey* (Westminster and London, 1902-14), III, 133, 323; IV, 57, 59, 168, 196-97; *Victoria History of Hampshire* (Westminster and London, 1900-12), II, 479, 503, 505; III, 43, 328, 330, 456; IV, 259.

²⁷ Vertot, II, 245; *Cal. St. Ps., Span.*, X, 9; *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. III (London, 1922), s. v. Catherine Howard; Burgon, Vol. I, app. ix. I can find no light on Leigh's ancestry in E. K. Chambers, *Sir Henry Lee* (Oxford, 1936), but see pages 7, 247, 250, 253-54.

²⁸ Burgon, I, 123, 469.

planations to the council.²⁹ In the following summer (1542) Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, was imprisoned for having issued a challenge to "John à Leigh", but the quarrel was soon patched up and Surrey released upon recognizance to do no harm to his antagonist.³⁰ It was apparently during the years following this incident that Leigh "long frequented" the Imperial court in Flanders. On Edward VI's accession he was imprisoned for a while in the Fleet, and three years later, after another trip abroad with Sir Thomas Cheyne, he was committed to the Tower for six months, then released in the custody of his son-in-law, Sir Thomas Paston, for three months more.³¹ His only offense seems to have been his religion, and this helps to account for the fact that upon Mary's accession he became (or perhaps had already become) an intimate member of her household. Sir Thomas Gresham wrote later that "Sir John a Leye" was "the man that preserved me when Queen Mary came to the crown", and it was "John Ly" who managed to introduce the pope's secret emissary, Cardinal Commendone, to the queen in August, 1553.³²

Patriotism and religion drove Leigh to become Noailles's most important informer at court. His closest personal and political associates were Sir Robert Rochester, Sir Edward Waldegrave, Sir Francis Englefield, and Sir Richard Southwell, all members of Gardiner's party in the council. Devoted as they were to the queen on personal and religious grounds, this little group of Catholic patriots, like most of the Catholics in England, opposed the Spanish match because they feared it would jeopardize the restoration of religion and the preservation of national integrity; and in December, 1553, we find Leigh "conducting" an intrigue of theirs to have Cardinal Pole received immediately in England as a private citizen in order to thwart those who, like Paget, put the Spanish marriage before the reconciliation with Rome.³³

²⁹ *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII* (London, 1862-1910), Vol. XIII, pt. II, no. 847; Vol. XIV, pt. I, no. 1; Vol. XV, nos. 38, 188; Vol. XVI, nos. 640, 878 (28) and notes, pp. 304, 306. *State Papers during the Reign of Henry VIII* (London, 1830-52), Vol. I, pt. II, nos. 134, 135. Edmond Bapst, *Deux gentilshommes-poètes de la cour de Henry VIII* (Paris, 1891), pp. 256-59. John Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials* (London, Bagster, 1816), I, 498-501.

³⁰ Bapst, pp. 256-59; Edwin Casady, *Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey* (New York, 1938), pp. 88-91; *Letters and Papers*, Vol. XVII, no. 557.

³¹ *Cal. St. Ps., Span.*, X, 9; *Acts P. C.*, II, 111, 142, 384; III, 54, 97, 108, 127, 301.

³² Burgon, I, 122-24. Cf. *Cal. St. Ps. For., Mary*, pp. 74, 98.

³³ *Cal. St. Ps., Span.*, XI, 471; Vertot, II, 271. On the close association between Leigh and Waldegrave see *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Philip and Mary* (London, 1936-39), I, 227. After Gardiner deserted Courtenay's cause in November, Waldegrave became the leader of the conciliar opposition to the Spanish match. *Cal. St. Ps., Span.*, XI, 431, 443-44; James Arthur Muller, *Stephen Gardiner* (New York, 1926), pp. 241 ff.

In the middle of the night of September 6, 1553, Leigh went secretly to Noailles and told him that a marriage was being negotiated between the queen and Philip of Spain; he promised that he would help to block the negotiations and entreated that his name be kept a close secret because of his position at court.³⁴ Noailles followed his request so scrupulously that it is extremely difficult to trace his later contacts with the French embassy, but it can be shown that Leigh remained a French spy until the departure of François de Noailles from England in June, 1557.

In March, 1554, after his desperate search for new spies to replace those he had lost during Wyatt's rebellion, Noailles had acquired the services of one who was a favorite of the queen, acquainted with her ladies, her secretaries, and her "most intimate secrets", and "very intimate" with Renard. He had given the man the unusually large sum of two hundred crowns and ordinarily referred to him thereafter as "l'homme des deux cens escus".³⁵ There is almost no doubt that this "new informer" was Sir John Leigh. He had, of course, given Noailles information of considerable importance six months before, but he had not become a regular paid spy, and he had probably dissociated himself from the French ambassador during Wyatt's rebellion, as had his friends in the council. His name was known to Renard in the fall of 1553, and when Renard began to turn from Paget's party to Gardiner's after the rebellion, it is not impossible that he came to know Leigh more intimately. During the summer of 1554 Noailles received several news reports from court which were unmistakably from the same source, although sometimes the ambassador referred to his informer as "l'ome des deus cens escus", sometimes as "le dit Jehan" or "ledict Jē ali". At the end of the year Henry II ordered Noailles to make "Jean Ally" a present of "another 200 crowns", and it seems to have been Leigh to whom the ambassador referred a month later as "the best of my informers". In the spring of 1555 the same informer was keeping Noailles posted about the course of the queen's "pregnancy".³⁶

³⁴ Vertot, II, 143-44, 245, 247. See *Cal. St. Ps., Span.*, XI, 333, n., and Wiesener, p. 126, n.

³⁵ Noailles to Henry II, Mar. 31, 1554, A.A.E., Angleterre, Vol. IX, f. 157; see also ff. 194 and 205; and Vertot, III, 187.

³⁶ The thread of evidence is obviously tenuous here, and the reading "Jē ali" in the original manuscript (A.A.E., Angleterre, Vol. X, ff. 272-73) is doubtful; it may be a hastily written "Jehan", which might possibly refer to Berteville. The news reports of 1554 are as follows: extract from a letter to Noailles from an informer, June 16 (A.A.E., Angleterre, Vol. IX, f. 206); Advis, June 16 (Vertot, III, 247-50); Advis, July 3 (A.A.E., Angleterre, Vol. IX, f. 216); Noailles to Henry II, July 12 (*ibid.*, f. 223); Advis, July 12 (*ibid.*, f. 220). On the other details mentioned see Vertot, IV, 48, 113, 227, 334, 342.

In March, 1555, Montmorency thought so highly of Noailles's "best informer" that he ordered the ambassador to see that Leigh accompanied Gardiner when the chancellor crossed the Channel to attend the peace conference at Marcq, "in order that through him we may be so much the better informed about the conduct of affairs at this parley". Leigh promised Noailles that he would go but was prevented at the last minute by illness.³⁷ Shortly after François de Noailles succeeded his brother in 1556, he found Leigh to be "the best and most trustworthy" of all his informers; and it was Leigh's information which formed the basis of at least one of the new ambassador's long and penetrating analyses of the state of English politics.³⁸

As it turned out, however, François de Noailles's most valuable informer was not Leigh but another English gentleman who had had no dealings with the French embassy before January, 1557, when Secretary Durand won him over to the French service. This was George Brooke, son of Lord Cobham and cousin of Sir Thomas Wyatt the Younger. He had been imprisoned for complicity in Wyatt's rebellion, but three years later he was so far restored to favor that he held a position of trust in the privy council as a sort of undersecretary. One of his duties, it appears, was to translate documents summing up the council's decisions into Latin for Philip's perusal. During April, 1557, the most dramatic council meetings of the reign took place at Westminster and Greenwich, the issue being whether England should bend to Philip's will by declaring war against France. Thanks to the fact that Brooke gave François de Noailles regular reports of these meetings, we have an intimate record of the conflict between crown and council which is without parallel in the rest of Mary's reign.³⁹

Once his spies had given him the information he needed, there were various ways in which Antoine de Noailles could pursue his main object—to prevent England from gravitating toward the Habsburg orbit. He could use blandishments and threats, the traditional weapons of diplomacy, in order to influence queen and council; he could use the newer weapon of propaganda to stimulate the anti-Spanish feeling which was already strong in parliament and among the people; and as

³⁷ Montmorency to Noailles, Mar. 31, 1555, A.A.E., Angleterre, Vol. IX, f. 401; Vertot, IV, 286, 300, 308, 334, 342. It is reasonably clear from these references, if not before, that "le personnaige des deulx cens ecus" and "Jehan Aly" are the same person.

³⁸ François de Noailles to Henry II, Dec. 15, 1556, A.A.E., Angleterre, Vol. XIII, f. 111. See also f. 155.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, ff. 137, 152, 155, 183, 184, 187, 193, 220; John Gough Nichols, ed., *Chronicle of Queen Jane* (London, Camden Society, 1850), pp. 53, 62.

a last resort he could conspire with a resolute minority of traitors if they appeared able to overthrow an incorrigibly pro-Spanish queen. Unfortunately he had not the grace of tact which his brother François had; and his king, thanks to the war between France and the Empire, was unable to use military force on any effective scale as an instrument of his policy in dealing with England. Hence Noailles's attempts at persuasion or intimidation were usually unsuccessful, and he was compelled by the circumstances of his position to make himself master of the technique of propaganda and intrigue. His intrigues with parliamentary leaders, his manipulation of public opinion, and his connections with the major conspiracies of the reign form too large a subject to enter into here, but it is possible to point out a few of the agents who collaborated with him in his efforts to sabotage the Anglo-Spanish alliance.

It is a striking fact that almost all of these agents came to Noailles unsolicited. He sometimes had to buy informers, but he never had to buy sympathizers as Renard was forced to do. This was fortunate in view of the fact that Henry II was unable or unwilling to spend anything like the sums which Charles V and Philip spent upon wholesale bribery in England. During the six months prior to Philip's arrival in England, Renard distributed some thirty-five thousand crowns in "gifts" to courtiers or councilors.⁴⁰ Noailles's salary of about three hundred and fifty crowns a month was paid with a regularity unusual for the sixteenth century, and he received several special gifts in consideration of his "great expenses": one thousand crowns in September, 1553, five thousand more in January, 1554 (just too late to help Wyatt), and an office worth four thousand crowns in January, 1555. But he was certainly unable to match the shower of gold chains which fell from Brussels. In the spring of 1554 he suggested to Montmorency that two hundred thousand crowns of French money would accomplish as much as two millions in Spanish gold spent in England, but needless to say the money was never forthcoming.⁴¹ By 1557 the yearly value of French pensions paid in England amounted to about nine hundred crowns while that of Imperial pensions was over six times this amount.⁴²

⁴⁰ This sum represents a necessarily rough computation of the total amount of Imperial "gifts" to English individuals and groups between January and July, 1554, drawn from the lists in Renard's papers (P.R.O., Tyler, pp. 35-36, 245-46; Weiss, IV, 182, 187, 267; Gachard and Piot, IV, 313, 346).

⁴¹ Noailles to Montmorency, Apr. 17, 1554, A.A.E., Angleterre, Vol. IX, f. 168.

⁴² On the French pensions see *ibid.*, Vol. XIII, ff. 133, 154, 162, 163, 165. Michiele put the value of Imperial pensions at 53,000 to 54,000 ducats (*Cal. St. Ps., Ven.*, Vol. VI, pt. II, p. 1066). In 1554 the value of the French crown was set at 6s. 4d., that of the ducat at 6s. 8d. (*Acts P. C.*, IV, 410).

A second interesting fact about those who had intimate dealings with Noailles is that while many of them leaned to the new religion, none of them were "hot gospellers". In spite of interesting recent evidence of the close connection between the religious and the political opposition to Mary,⁴³ it remains a fact that the Knoxes and Hoopers either fled the realm or suffered gloriously at the stake; they did not visit the ambassador of a Catholic king to plot rebellion.

Noailles began his organization of a parliamentary and popular opposition to the Spanish match the day after Leigh told him of the negotiations. Malcontents of all sorts soon began visiting him, apparently in a constant stream, "by a postern gate in a garden" attached to his residence, the Charterhouse, "very convenient and secret for such a purpose". Some were heretics, some Catholics who believed the crown belonged by right to Mary Stuart, some disappointed office seekers, some ex-partisans of the Duke of Northumberland.⁴⁴ How close Noailles's connection was with the propaganda which issued from this little coterie of patriots may be seen in the remarkable similarity between his official arguments to the council and those of their broadsides. While he supplied the pamphleteers with examples of Habsburg tyranny drawn from his knowledge of the Continent, they supplied him with arguments based on English interests as he, his secretary, and Soranzo went about "from one house to another of the Councillors and leading men of the country" preaching the dangers of the Habsburg marriage.⁴⁵ The opposition in Mary's first parliament was organized by Gardiner, Englefield, Waldegrave, and Lord Pembroke,⁴⁶ and there is no evidence that any of these leading supporters of Courtenay's suit for the queen's hand had any dealings with the French ambassador. But it is highly likely that several other members who later turned from constitutional opposition to treason were among those who used Noailles's postern gate: Sir Peter Carew, who spoke French fluently and who "plotted for Courtenay in Parliament and opposed the restoration of religion", according to Renard;⁴⁷ Sir Edward Rogers and Sir Edward Warner, both involved with Carew in Wyatt's rebellion; and perhaps Thomas White and Henry Peckham, both later involved in Dudley's plot.

⁴³ Christina Hallowell Garrett, *The Marian Exiles* (Cambridge, 1938), particularly pp. 14-15, 29, 32-34, 50-51.

⁴⁴ Vertot, II, 160-61, 167, 174-75, 221-22.

⁴⁵ *Cal. St. Ps., Span.*, XI, 293, and note. For examples of the propaganda mentioned see *ibid.*, pp. 191-92; Vertot, II, 157, 182-90; and Strype, IV, 87.

⁴⁶ *Cal. St. Ps., Span.*, XI, 332-33, 431.

⁴⁷ Renard to Granvelle, Jan. 7, 1554, P.R.O., Tyler, p. 24. See *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts*, ed. by J. S. Brewer and W. Bullen (London, 1867-73), I, lxxix-lxxii.

After the failure of the parliamentary petition that the queen marry an Englishman, Noailles soon got into direct touch with some of the ringleaders who planned Wyatt's rising. Sir James Croft, Sir William Pickering, Rogers, and possibly Carew communicated with the ambassador or visited his house in person;⁴⁸ but more often it was minor figures in the plot who kept him in touch with the leaders. One particularly illuminating incident may serve to illustrate the importance of the part played by his agents during the crisis. On January 27, 1554, just after Wyatt raised his standard in Kent, the Duke of Norfolk was sent to face the rebels' forces at Rochester with a detachment consisting partly of London militia. When the two armies met on the 29th, the Londoners, led by John Brett, Sir William Pelham, and others of their captains, deserted to the rebels.⁴⁹ Perhaps their cry, "We are all Englishmen", was explanation enough of their treason, but it appears that Noailles had had a hand in stimulating their patriotism: four of their captains (including Pelham) had already been suborned by one of his agents, a Scot named Broughton.⁵⁰ The incident casts a brief and fleeting ray of light upon the little group of Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Scots, who acted as French agents before the rebellion, then fled to France or Scotland when Wyatt was captured: Broughton, who seems to have known Berteville;⁵¹ Pelham, who served as spy for both the French and the Imperialists with equal zest;⁵² Jean Ribaut, a famous French navigator, whom Berteville knew well;⁵³ John Walker, a

⁴⁸ Tytler, II, 306; A.A.E., Angleterre, Vol. IX, ff. 112, 114-15, 117, 121, 256.

⁴⁹ Proctor's History of Wyatt's Rebellion in *An English Garner*, Edward Arber, ed. (London, 1877-97), VIII, 68; Imperial ambassadors to Charles V, Jan. 31, 1554, P.R.O., Tyler, p. 89.

⁵⁰ Some months later Edward Randall wrote Noailles that "Ser Wuillames", who had revolted against the Duke of Norfolk and fled to France for safety, was once more serving as an Imperial spy. Noailles noted that this "Ser Wuillain" was "l'un des quatre Capitaines que je feiz pratiquer par Brogton durant les esmotions de M^e Houyvet" (Noailles to Montmorency, Sept. 22, 1554, with enclosure, A.A.E., Angleterre, Vol. IX, ff. 270, 271). The reference is obviously to Sir William Pelham. See below, note 52.

⁵¹ On Broughton's activities in general see *ibid.*, ff. 22, 104, 121^v, 125, 127, 129, 134, 270; Vertot, III, 27; *Calendar of State Papers, Scotland* (London, 1858), I, 110.

⁵² *Cal. St. Ps., Span.*, X, 381, 386, 390; XI, 351-52, 354, 441, 473; A.A.E., Angleterre, Vol. IX, ff. 16^v, 19, 21, 151, 186^v, 364; *Acts P. C.*, IV, 401; V, 98. It is difficult to trace his movements, and it is possible (as Tyler suggests) that there may have been two men of the same name.

⁵³ Ribaut was closely associated with Berteville during the previous reign (*Acts P. C.*, Vols. II and III, *passim*). In December, 1553, Senarpont, governor of Boulogne, was making efforts through Noailles to persuade him to return to France (A.A.E., Angleterre, Vol. IX, ff. 108, 119). Ribaut returned in August, 1555 (Vertot, V, 60-61), and commanded one of the vessels which carried Thomas Stafford on his ill-fated expedition to Scarborough in 1557.

servant of Courtenay's who was eventually condemned to life imprisonment for complicity in Dudley's plot;⁵⁴ John Young, who was examined by the council upon his visits to Noailles;⁵⁵ and one South, through whom the ambassador kept in touch with Carew.⁵⁶

Many others offered their services to Noailles or to his brothers during the next three years, but perhaps the most typical and therefore the most significant of all the French agents was "Captain" Edward Randall of Kent.⁵⁷ Whether Randall had dealings with Noailles before Wyatt's rebellion, we do not know. But he was certainly involved in the conspiracy and fled to France after its collapse.⁵⁸ A few months later he managed to convince Wotton that he was a loyal subject of the queen, and at Wotton's intercession he was pardoned. Meanwhile he had privately assured Montmorency of his devotion to the French cause, and Montmorency had written Noailles that the fugitive was returning to England to stir up whatever trouble he could. He arrived in London in August, 1554, armed with letters of recommendation from Wotton to Philip and Mary, and lost little time getting in touch with Noailles. With "vehemence and ardor" he sketched out a grandiose scheme for the invasion of England by a party of English exiles and Gascon musketeers under the leadership of Sir Peter Carew, with the object of packing Philip out of the realm. Noailles was much taken with the idea, but Montmorency saw no "firmness or resolution" in it and ordered the ambassador not to commit himself. By October Randall, who had moved into the house next door to Noailles's, was afraid to communicate with him any further, perhaps because he was being watched.⁵⁹

Two months later one of Noailles's agents was keeping him closely informed about the debates in parliament over the government's

⁵⁴ *Acts P. C.*, V, 36; Renard to Philip, Feb. 19, 1554, P.R.O., Tyler, p. 176 (*Col. Doc. Inéd.*, III, 499); *Diary of Henry Machyn*, ed. by John Gough Nichols (London, Camden Society, 1848), p. 118.

⁵⁵ *Acts P. C.*, IV, 391, 395, 401; Vertot, III, 100; Renard to Charles V, Mar. 14, 1554, P.R.O., Tyler, p. 233; Noailles to D'Oysel, Jan. 22, 1554, A.A.E., Angleterre, Vol. IX, f. 121v.

⁵⁶ Tytler, II, 306.

⁵⁷ See the brief biographical sketch in Garrett, pp. 266-67.

⁵⁸ Randall's name appears in various lists of suspects, e. g., in State Papers, Domestic, II, Vol. VII, no. 24, P.R.O. In a list among Renard's papers his name is marked "sentenced" (P.R.O., Tyler, p. 187), but there is no record of his indictment.

⁵⁹ Montmorency to Noailles, Aug. 17 and Oct. 17, 1554, A.A.E., Angleterre, Vol. IX, ff. 248, 286; Noailles to Montmorency, Sept. 22, Oct. 4, and Oct. 20, 1554, *ibid.*, ff. 270-74, 288; Vertot, III, 306-307; *Cal. St. Ps., For., Mary*, pp. 72, 79, 88, 96, 107, 108, 113, 114.

proposals to crown Philip and to declare war against France (both of which were defeated by a group which Renard referred to as "French partisans").⁶⁰ On December 16 this person wrote the ambassador:

I have spoken to the gentlemen from the north of England to whom you ordered me to speak, and they have told me that if they had had some support from Scotland, they would never have suffered the things they have suffered, nor would they willingly suffer such things as they see coming upon them if they were sure of having aid and support from Scotland through the King of France—a thing which they lament deeply.⁶¹

Was it coincidence that thirty-seven members of the lower house and five members of the upper, including Lord Dacre and the Earls of Westmorland and Cumberland (all three from the North), withdrew from parliament before the close of the session, apparently in protest against the government's political and religious policies?⁶² It is impossible to identify the agent who played a part in this and other intrigues in Mary's third parliament, but it is not improbable that it was Randall.⁶³

It is beyond doubt, on the other hand, that Randall was one of the group of heretics, ex-associates of Wyatt, and friends of Elizabeth who were meeting at Paul's and other places in London during July, 1555⁶⁴—in all probability the group which later hatched Dudley's plot. On July 15 he visited Noailles and told him that "fifty gentlemen" of his acquaintance had formed a conspiracy "to recover their liberties" before the end of August or die in the attempt. He pointed out that the plot was different from the one he had described "previously", but that, like the first, its success would depend upon persuading Carew to organize the English exiles abroad.⁶⁵ Noailles was noncommittal, and

⁶⁰ Renard to Charles V, Dec. 21, 1554, and Renard to Philip [end of Dec., 1554], P.R.O., Tyler, pp. 326-28, 335-40 (fragments printed in Weiss, IV, 345-49, 357-59).

⁶¹ Mémoire, Dec. 16, 1554, A.A.E., Angleterre, Vol. IX, ff. 327^v-328. The letter was signed "de par le tout celluy que cognoissez". Phrases such as "tant des nobles que des commun poeuple" suggest that the writer was an Englishman.

⁶² For a list of the thirty-seven members and the text of their indictment see Edward Coke, *Fourth Part of the Institutes* (4th ed., London, 1669), pp. 17-21. Renard states that Arundel, Pembroke, Dacre, and the Earls of "Versonerlant" and "Converlant" absented themselves on various excuses (Renard to Charles V, Jan. 17, 1555, Antigny, Tyler).

⁶³ It may, of course, have been Leigh (see the reference to Noailles's "best informer" in Vertot, IV, 113); but Leigh had more to lose than Randall if discovered.

⁶⁴ Renard to Charles V, July 10, 1555, Antigny, Tyler, p. 195 (Weiss, IV, 447-48); *Cal. St. Ps., Ven.*, Vol. VI, pt. 1, p. 137; Wiesener, p. 323.

⁶⁵ Noailles to Montmorency, July 15, and Montmorency to Noailles, July 27, 1555, A.A.E., Angleterre, Vol. IX, ff. 489, 498-99. This time Noailles did not name his in-

nothing came of the scheme until Berteville approached him in the following December, told him of Dudley's conspiracy, and mentioned, incidentally, that one of Dudley's henchmen was Randall, now a "Colonel of Infantry" in Philip's service.⁶⁶

After the failure of Dudley's plot, Randall was imprisoned, but his luck held once more, and he was released.⁶⁷ The last glimpse we have of him in Mary's reign is in the spring of 1557 when he had just been commissioned to raise troops for the queen and was offering François de Noailles to bring over five hundred or more of them to the French service.⁶⁸ Nine years later he met his death in Ireland, fighting in Queen Elizabeth's service.

Study of the technique of French intrigue in England during the reign of Mary provides the key to many problems of a reign which was dominated, as no other in Tudor history was dominated, by foreign influence. If Mary's reign was indeed "The Making of the England of Elizabeth", then Noailles in a sense was one of its makers.⁶⁹ For the only time in Tudor history an ambassador of England's hereditary enemy found himself in the strange position of representing the patriotism of most Englishmen better than the monarch who sat upon the throne, and the use which he made of his opportunity was remarkably successful. To the student of the rise of English national sentiment or of the relation between government and popular opinion in Tudor England the spies and agents of Antoine de Noailles, self-appointed leader of "Her Majesty's Opposition", are of interest.

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former, but the similarities between Randall's proposals of September, 1554, and those of Noailles's informer of July, 1555, seem to prove that it was Randall. In both cases Randall's friend, Henry Killigrew, was suggested as the ideal intermediary between the conspirators, Carew, and the French government. See above, note 59.

⁶⁶ About the middle of December, 1555, Berteville wrote Noailles that Dudley "s'es mis en pratique avecques ung que le Prince d'Espagne a prins en ses gaiges en estat de collonel de *craint* [undeciphered word which later context shows to be "infantry"] pendant le temps servira . . ." (*ibid.*, f. 660). On April 3, 1555, Philip had granted a pension of two hundred crowns to "Edward Randolph, Colonel of Infantry, for services performed". *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1547-80* (London, 1856), p. 65.

⁶⁷ Advis, July 8, 1556, A.A.E., Angleterre, Vol. XIII, f. 27.

⁶⁸ Advis, Apr. 28, 1557, *ibid.*, f. 196^v.

⁶⁹ See Allen B. Hinds's book of this title (New York, 1895).

THE CANADA EXPEDITION OF 1746

ITS RELATION TO BRITISH POLITICS

I

THE abortive Canada expedition of 1746 has hitherto appeared to be one of the most obscure and least significant episodes in the whole history of British imperialism. Obscure it may have been, but not insignificant, for it marks the faint beginnings of a policy which was to lead, first to the conquest of Canada, and then, because of that conquest, to the American Revolution. With the first of these policies the name of the elder Pitt is so closely connected that one historian has suggested that he must have had something to do with planning the expedition of 1746.¹ The policy of stricter regulation of the American colonies is generally associated with the name of George Grenville, but the connection of the Duke of Bedford with that policy was pointed out long ago by George Bancroft.²

In the light of evidence shortly to be presented the expedition of 1746 must be regarded as the event which first turned the eyes of both Pitt and Bedford toward America. It has long been known that Bedford was the chief advocate of the 1746 expedition against Canada, and it appears that Pitt's interest in Canada dates from the same event.³ The plan of conquest which Bedford fathered in 1746 was carried out thirteen years later by Pitt, and although Bedford had in the meantime changed his mind about the value of Canada,⁴ he was intimately concerned with the negotiation of the Peace of Paris, which annexed it to the British Empire. The annexation of Canada, in turn, precipitated that

¹ William Kingsford, *History of Canada*, III (London, 1889), 327.

² *History of the United States*, II (New York, 1884), 340. See also O. M. Dickerson, *American Colonial Government* (Cleveland, 1912), p. 39, and A. H. Basye, *The Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, 1748-1782* (New Haven, 1925), pp. 32-34. For a contrary view of Bedford's influence see H. E. Egerton, *Short History of British Colonial Policy* (London, 1897), p. 145.

³ Kate Hotblack, *Chatham's Colonial Policy* (London, 1917), pp. 44-46. Hubert Hall in his article on "Chatham's Colonial Policy" in the *American Historical Review*, V, 68, n. 3, points out that the first papers relating to America in the Pringle collection of Chatham manuscripts date from 1746.

⁴ See his letter of May 9, 1761, in *Anglo-French Boundary Disputes in the West, 1749-1763*, Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library (Springfield, 1936), p. 294.

revision of British colonial policy which led to the American Revolution.

If the expedition of 1746 has appeared hitherto to lack significance, it is because historians have been unable to account satisfactorily either for the decision of the British ministry to send the expedition or for its subsequent decision to abandon it.⁵ It has, indeed, long been known that after the conquest of Louisbourg the man most responsible for that conquest, Governor William Shirley of Massachusetts, made strong representations to the British government that it be followed by an attack upon Canada, and that these representations were seconded by his collaborator, Commodore Warren. It has been generally assumed that their arguments were sufficient to convert the ministry.⁶ There are, however, several reasons why this explanation cannot be accepted as complete. In the first place, British ministers before the time of the elder Pitt were not in the habit of paying much attention to America, especially continental America. Schemes for the conquest of Canada had repeatedly been urged upon the British government by colonial governors and others, but in only three cases, 1693, 1709, and 1711, had they

⁵ The chief secondary authorities for the expedition are Sir Herbert William Richmond, *The Navy in the War of 1739-1748* (3 vols., Cambridge, 1920); G. A. Wood, *William Shirley: A History* (New York, 1920); and V. H. Paltsits, "A Scheme for the Conquest of Canada in 1746", in the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, N. S., XVII, 69-92. The adventures of the expedition during its attack upon L'Orient have been amusingly described by Sir John W. Fortescue, "A Side-Show of the Eighteenth Century", in *Blackwood's Magazine* for March, 1933, Vol. CCXXXII. This paper is based mainly on the Newcastle and Hardwicke papers in the British Museum and on various papers relating to the expedition at the Public Record Office. Part of Newcastle's correspondence for this period has been edited for the Royal Historical Society by Sir Richard Lodge, *The Private Correspondence of Chesterfield and Newcastle, 1744-1746* (London, 1930). William Coxe, *The Administration of Henry Pelham* (2 vols., London, 1829), and Philip C. Yorke, *The Life and Correspondence of Philip Yorke, Lord Chancellor Hardwicke* (3 vols., Cambridge, 1913), contain many extracts from the correspondence of the period. For the diplomacy of the period I have relied upon Sir Richard Lodge's standard work on the subject, *Studies in Eighteenth Century Diplomacy* (London, 1930). Professor S. M. Pargellis of Yale University has kindly permitted me to use certain transcripts in his possession.

⁶ Among writers who give credit for originating the expedition to Shirley are the contemporary historian William Smith, *History of the Late Province of New York*, II (New York, 1829), 84; Francis Parkman, *Half Century of Conflict* (Boston, 1910), II, 152; Bancroft, II, 310; John Gorham Palfrey, *History of New England* (Boston, 1890), V, 82; and Herbert L. Osgood, *American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1924), III, 534. A letter of the secretary of the admiralty board to Warren, dated April 7, 1746, states definitely that it was the proposals of Shirley and Warren which had determined the government to send an expedition against Canada (Richmond, III, 4, n. 1, citing State Papers Domestic, Naval 30, f. 286). I have verified the reference. The joint letter of Shirley and Warren to Newcastle, here referred to, dated October 29, 1745, is printed in part in the *Correspondence of William Shirley* (New York, 1912), I, 280.

received serious attention. The expedition of 1709 never left European waters, and the failure of the other two expeditions, especially that of 1711, which men still active in politics could remember, had created a decided prejudice against such enterprises.⁷

Moreover, when the Canada expedition was first being discussed, in the late winter of 1745-46, the military situation was not such as to encourage distant enterprises. It has been suggested, indeed, that the expedition of 1746 was "a desperate and avowed attempt to get something with bargaining power at a peace conference to offset the victories of Marshall Saxe".⁸ But to send a considerable force to America when the Young Pretender was still at large in Scotland and the French were rapidly overrunning Flanders involved risks which only a very bold, or a very reckless, government would have cared to take. Neither of these adjectives could properly be applied to the ministry which was in office in 1746. Its most influential member was the Duke of Newcastle, whose timidity and incompetence have been celebrated by successive generations of historians.⁹

Only one writer seems to have had an inkling of the true facts about the origins of the expedition when he hints that it was the result of the political alliance made in February, 1746, between the Pelham faction, headed by Newcastle, and the Boy Patriot group, of which Pitt was a member. This writer does not specifically mention the expedition of 1746, but he remarks that the basis of the arrangement was "that the war with France should be, for the future, a war at sea and not on land".¹⁰

The question of the reasons for the failure of the expedition has proved even more puzzling than the question of its origin. Few historians have regarded as satisfactory the official explanation that adverse winds delayed its sailing until it was too late to dispatch it to America.¹¹ Some have queried whether the ministry ever intended it to proceed

⁷ Lord Hardwicke refers to the failure of 1711 and to the more recent failure of Vernon in the West Indies in his letter of April 2, 1746, to Newcastle, in British Museum Additional Manuscript 32707, f. 5.

⁸ Pargellis, *Lord Loudoun in North America* (New Haven, 1933), p. 3.

⁹ Kingsford flatly states that it is scarcely possible to conceive that the decision to send the expedition emanated from Newcastle (III, 327), hence his suggestion that Pitt must have had something to do with its origin. See note 1 above.

¹⁰ H. W. C. Davis, *The Age of Grey and Peel* (Oxford, 1929), p. 2.

¹¹ Newcastle to Shirley, May 30, 1747, Colonial Office 5/45, f. 247. I have used the copy in the Library of Congress Transcripts. Extracts from this letter are printed in *Rhode Island Colonial Records*, V (Providence, 1860), 229.

against Canada. Others speak of obscure forces which doomed it to failure, of inexplicable delays, even of the possibility of deliberate obstruction. A favorite explanation has been ministerial incompetence, and as usual Newcastle has been made the chief scapegoat.¹²

The opinion of later writers concerning the failure of the expedition has been powerfully affected by the views of two eighteenth century historians, William Douglass and George Chalmers. Douglass, who was living in Boston at the time of the expedition, was of the opinion that the ministry never intended it to attack Canada. It was, he believed, only a feint to throw the French off their guard and facilitate an attack on the French coast.¹³

Chalmers's contribution to the discussion was to quote from a report made by the Duke of Bedford on a plan for the expedition submitted by Shirley. Shirley had proposed to rely chiefly on colonial troops for the conquest of Canada. Bedford objected to this "on account of the independence it might create in those provinces, when they shall see within themselves so great an army, possessed of so great a country by right of conquest".¹⁴ Chalmers did not suggest that these suspicions of Bedford had a part in the failure of the expedition, but nineteenth century American historians jumped to the conclusion that they did. Although these writers understood that Bedford's criticism was directed against a detail of Shirley's plan, not against the plan itself, they could not rid themselves entirely of the idea that the mismanagement of the expedition was in some way connected with ministerial suspicions of the colonies.¹⁵ One historian only, the cautious Jeremy Belknap, was willing to confess that he did not know why the expedition failed and that conjecture could not supply the place of facts.¹⁶

¹² Parkman, II, 154; J. A. Doyle, *English Colonies in America* (5 vols., New York, 1889-1907), V, 121; Hotblack, p. 46; R. Pares, "American versus Continental Warfare, 1739-1763", *English Historical Review*, LI (1936), 458.

¹³ *A Summary, Historical and Political, of the Present State of the British Settlements in North-America* (Boston, 1755), I, 314, and note. The same idea appears in Parkman, II, 155.

¹⁴ *An Introduction to the Revolt of the American Colonies . . .* (Boston, 1845), II, 242. Chalmers's quotation was used by Palfrey (V, 84, n. 2) and by Richard Hildreth (*History of the United States*, New York, 1849-52, II, 310). Hildreth does not cite Chalmers, but his quotation reveals the source. The same idea appears in Justin Winsor's *Mississippi Basin* (Boston, 1895), page 222, and in Bancroft (II, 310). Bancroft quotes Kalm in support of the idea that the British government was not anxious to have the French removed from Canada.

¹⁵ See, for example, Wood, pp. 338, 372.

¹⁶ *History of New Hampshire* (Boston, 1791-92), II, 228.

II

The Canada expedition of 1746 owed its origin to ideas of foreign policy and strategy which had been the subject of controversy for more than half a century. When the war with France began in 1689 the great majority of Englishmen were agreed that the power of France must be reduced, but they soon came to disagree about the best method of accomplishing that object. The Whigs were disposed to support the policy of William III, which made England the leader and paymaster of a coalition of the Continental enemies of France and relegated the maritime and colonial aspects of the conflict to a secondary place. The Tories challenged this policy as needlessly expensive, as tending to subordinate the interests of England to those of her Continental allies, and as unlikely to accomplish its intended purpose.¹⁷

Since the Revolution of 1688 had given parliament the final voice in the determination of policy, it became necessary for the politicians of both parties to seek parliamentary and popular support. The Continental deadlock of the war of 1689-97 turned public opinion against William's Continental policy, but the victories of Marlborough temporarily restored that policy to favor. By failing to make peace, however, on the favorable terms obtainable in 1709 the Whigs overplayed their hand, and the Tories, led by Swift and Bolingbroke, raised the cry that the war was being prolonged merely to serve the interests of the Whig party and its foreign allies. This propaganda, operating on a war-weary nation, was perhaps the chief cause of the political overturn of 1710. Once in power the Tories emphasized the maritime and colonial aspects of the war by forming a South Sea Company and by dispatching an expedition against Canada, and in the ensuing peace negotiations Bolingbroke was careful not to neglect England's commercial interests.¹⁸

The return of the Whigs to power, following the accession of the House of Hanover, and the formation of an alliance with France did not terminate the controversy but rather gave it a new direction. During Walpole's long tenure of office the opposition made his foreign policy a special object of attack, assailing his peace policy with as much vigor as formerly they had assailed the war policy of William III and

¹⁷ Keith Feiling, *History of the Tory Party, 1640-1714* (Oxford, 1924), p. 368; also pp. 288, 364, and Maurice Woods, *History of the Tory Party* (London, 1924), ch. 4.

¹⁸ W. T. Morgan, "The South Sea Company and the Canadian Expedition in the Reign of Queen Anne", in the *Hispanic American Historical Review*, VIII, 143-66, and G. M. Trevelyan, *England under Queen Anne*, Vol. III, *The Peace and the Protestant Succession* (New York, 1934), p. 182.

Marlborough. The opposition was no longer united, however, for in addition to the Tories it now included several groups of dissident Whigs. The grounds of criticism therefore varied. At one extreme was Lord Carteret, who was willing to intervene by force if necessary in Continental affairs. Carteret, however, spoke as a diplomat and had no popular following. Much more influential was Bolingbroke, who maintained that the interests of England were being sacrificed to those of Hanover. While some of the more extreme champions of what has been called the "blue water" school of strategy argued that England should sever her connections with the Continent altogether, Bolingbroke frankly admitted that a commercial nation like England could not avoid having an interest in Continental affairs. He argued, however, that England should actively intervene only when her own interests, the general welfare of Europe, or the preservation of the balance of power required it.¹⁹ Bolingbroke's influence on rising young politicians like Pitt and Chesterfield was considerable, but while Chesterfield's views on foreign policy continued to approximate those of the elder statesman, Pitt revived those ideas of the importance of sea power and the colonies of which Bolingbroke had been an exponent in 1711, but which in his later years he stressed very little.²⁰

The immediate occasion of the revival of interest in the colonies was the controversy with Spain over the right of search. Walpole's opponents saw in this controversy a chance to overthrow him and formed a political combination which was very similar to that later effected in 1746. The cry for war was joined by practically all the groups opposed to Walpole, notably by Bedford and by the group of relatives and friends which followed Lord Cobham, of which Pitt, by virtue of his eloquence, now became the most conspicuous member.²¹ The war,

¹⁹ For a general statement of these differing views on policy and strategy see Richmond, I, xiv ff. For Bolingbroke's leadership in the opposition to Walpole see C. B. Realey, *The Early Opposition to Sir Robert Walpole, 1720-1727* (Philadelphia, 1931), especially pp. 176-78 and 199 ff. For Bolingbroke's later views on foreign policy see "The Idea of a Patriot King", any edition. The later phases of the controversy are authoritatively discussed by Pares, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, LI, 429-65.

²⁰ For the influence of Bolingbroke on Pitt see Philip Henry Stanhope, 5th earl, *History of England . . . Reign of Anne* (London, 1872), II, 171, n. 8. His intimacy with Chesterfield and Pitt is revealed in the Diary of the Earl of Marchmont, printed in *A Selection from the Papers of the Earls of Marchmont* (3 vols., London, 1831), Vol. I.

²¹ For Bedford's part in this crisis see the introduction to the *Correspondence of John, Fourth Duke of Bedford* (3 vols., London, 1842-46), I, xviii; for Pitt's part, Basil Williams, *Life of William Pitt* (2 vols., London, 1913), I, 71 ff. Note especially the author's comment on page 76: "Pitt now for the first time learned his power of giving voice to the people." Chesterfield also was for war on this occasion. See his speech in the *Parliamentary History* (X, 1171 ff.).

it is to be noted, was to be a purely maritime war, and public opinion was aroused in its favor by speeches and pamphlets which held out hopes of wealth and power to be gained from the spoils of the Spanish Empire.²² The rise of jingoism which marked the success of this propaganda did not escape the notice of the politicians. A portion of the ministry, headed by Newcastle, became convinced that continued resistance to the clamor for war would be politically inexpedient, and Walpole was forced to yield. From this experience Newcastle appears to have gained the idea that a maritime and colonial policy was more popular than the Continental policy which the Whigs had generally advocated. If such was the case, it becomes easier to understand his complaisant attitude towards Bedford's demand for a Canada expedition in 1746.²³

When the war with Spain began there were no Continental complications, but the outbreak of the War of the Austrian Succession in 1740 forced Englishmen once more to consider their relations to the Continent. The whole question of British foreign policy now became the subject of debate and experiment. Scores of pamphlets were written; the Parliamentary History for the period abounds in speeches on the subject; policy after policy was tried and failed; ministry succeeded ministry as the politicians tried vainly to put together a coalition which could retain parliamentary and popular support. The attack on the Spanish Empire, which was to have proved the thesis of one school of strategy, having failed, England swung to the other extreme. Walpole was succeeded by Carteret, who reverted to the Continental policy of William III and Marlborough, but the only result was open war with France, fresh Continental complications, and a Jacobite rising. The peace policy of Walpole had broken down, the policy of maritime war against Spain had failed, the attempt to revert to the policy of the Grand Alliance had proved no more successful. Shirley's success at Louisbourg and the popular acclaim which it received in England pointed the way to a new policy. At the same time Newcastle was

²² This phase of the crisis is developed by G. B. Hertz, *British Imperialism in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1908), ch. 2, "The War Fever of 1739".

²³ The best account of Newcastle's policy at this time is to be found in Professor Frederick J. Manning's manuscript thesis, "The Duke of Newcastle and the West Indies, 1713-1754", which I have had the privilege of consulting in the Yale University Library. See also W. Coxe, *Memoirs of the Life and Administration of Sir Robert Walpole* (3 vols., London, 1798), I, 620, and Yorke, I, 187 ff. It is Professor Manning's contention that Newcastle's conduct in this crisis was governed by political considerations. See especially pages 484-85.

seeking to strengthen his political position. Out of this combination of circumstances came the expedition of 1746.

III

To understand why certain politicians took up the idea of the conquest of Canada and why the dominant Newcastle group was compelled to yield to them, it is necessary to allude to the political and parliamentary situation as it existed during the years 1742-46. In politics, as in foreign affairs, these were years of change and experiment, in which the leading politicians were seeking some stable combination of forces. The one essential element in any combination was that political group headed by the Duke of Newcastle and known to contemporaries as the Old Guard or the Old Corps. Its leading members were Newcastle himself, since 1724 secretary of state for the southern department, his brother Henry Pelham, who in 1743 became first lord of the treasury, and their close friend and associate, Lord Chancellor Hardwicke. As their name implies, they were the group which had formerly followed Walpole, and their present strength was due partly to that fact, partly to the political ability of Newcastle, the political boss of his era, who, unlike many of his abler contemporaries, appreciated the power of public opinion. Although unable to guide and exploit it, after the manner of Pitt, he was ready to yield to it, as he had in 1739.²⁴

As the leader of that political group which had followed Walpole, Newcastle not unnaturally aspired to succeed to his position. On the fall of Walpole, however, he had to share power with certain of Walpole's opponents, notably the brilliant Carteret, who assumed charge of foreign affairs, and who, by reason of his advocacy of a vigorous Continental war, gained the favor of George II. From 1742 to 1744, therefore, Newcastle was in the background, and there, perhaps, he would have remained had Carteret's foreign policy continued to be successful. In 1744, however, the foreign situation developed in such a way as to give Newcastle a chance to strike a blow at him. In March of that year France declared war upon England and threatened an

²⁴ There is a rapidly increasing literature on Newcastle, most of it of a revisionist character. See S. H. Nulle, *Thomas Pelham-Holles, Duke of Newcastle: His Early Political Career, 1693-1724* (Philadelphia, 1931), p. 170, n. 105; also L. B. Namier, *England in the Age of the American Revolution* (London, 1930), pp. 75-78. Newcastle's political methods are described by Basil Williams, "The Duke of Newcastle and the Election of 1734", *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XII (1897), 448-88, and by S. H. Nulle, "The Duke of Newcastle and the Election of 1727", *Journal of Modern History*, IX (1937), 1-22.

invasion to restore the Stuarts. In August, Frederick of Prussia, who had made peace with Austria in 1742, became alarmed at the increasing strength of the coalition which Carteret had formed and again entered the war, thus diverting large Austrian forces from the defense of the Netherlands. Meantime the Dutch, bound as well as England by former treaties to defend Flanders against the French, refused to engage with their full strength in the war. Carteret's opponents could now revive the old charge, so effective in 1710, that England's Continental allies were throwing upon her the chief burden of the war.

For his attack on Carteret, Newcastle could rally various discontented politicians and political groups. The coalition of 1742 was far from satisfactory to all of those political elements which had united to overthrow Walpole. The Tories had received scant representation in the new ministry, and among the dissatisfied were Chesterfield and the Boy Patriot group, led by Lord Cobham. Bedford does not seem to have been regarded as sufficiently important in 1742 to be considered for a place.²⁵ These dissatisfied elements already had one thing in common, a dislike of Carteret's foreign policy. All of them had in times past opposed a Continental policy; all had in 1739 joined in the cry for a maritime war with Spain. The line of attack chosen by Newcastle, therefore, was to condemn the policy of Carteret as pro-Hanoverian.²⁶ His efforts to overthrow Carteret were assisted by the veteran Bolingbroke, who on this occasion for the last time took an active part in politics, now as in 1710 using his influence to overthrow a ministry which was committed to a Continental policy.²⁷

Against so formidable a coalition neither Carteret, now Earl Granville, nor George II could make head. George was forced to part with the services of his favorite minister, and in November, 1744, the ministry was reconstituted on a Broad Bottom basis to include some Tories and some of the Whig opponents of Walpole who had been denied office in 1742. Chief among the new members were the Earl of Chesterfield, the Duke of Bedford, and Bedford's father-in-law, Lord Gower, an influential Tory. Bedford was given the important place of first lord of the admiralty. Among the younger politicians who had already made

²⁵ For the formation of this ministry see Coxe's *Walpole*, I, 698 ff., especially page 703.

²⁶ Newcastle to Henry Pelham, June 10, 1744, Add. MS. 32703, f. 108.

²⁷ Both Pitt and Chesterfield consulted with Bolingbroke on this occasion. See the *Marchmont Papers*, I, 15 ff.; also Yorke, I, 377-78.

their mark Pitt alone failed to obtain office, but for a time he gave a qualified support to the measures of the new administration.²⁸

The policy of the new administration as regards the war had been forecast in a paper which Hardwicke had drafted, at the instance of the Pelhams, just before the cabinet crisis. In brief, what the Pelhams proposed was to attempt to secure a fuller measure of co-operation in the prosecution of the war from England's allies, but, failing that, to concert measures with Holland to bring about a general peace.²⁹ Like most coalitions, however, this Broad Bottom administration was by no means united in its views. Even among what may be called the Old Guard there were differences of opinion. The pacific policy of Walpole was represented by Henry Pelham, who, as head and watchdog of the treasury, had little use for Continental alliances with their costly subsidies, and by Lord Harrington, one of the two secretaries of state. Newcastle, who had broken with Walpole in 1739 on the issue of the war with Spain, was now, as then, inclined to be more warlike.³⁰ Hardwicke, the third member of the ruling triumvirate, maintained a judicious balance between the two brothers. His interpretation of the policy of the ministry was that the war was to be prosecuted if such a course could be made practicable.³¹

Among the new recruits, also, there was no agreement on policy. About the views of Bedford at the time he joined the ministry, we have no definite information. Chesterfield's position is made clear by his contemporary correspondence with Newcastle and is set forth at some length in a pamphlet written in 1748 at the time of his resignation from the ministry. Both indicate that he entered the ministry with the hope of bringing about an early peace.³²

Whether an immediate peace was obtainable was more than doubtful. The king was still warlike, and ministers who had just deprived him of the services of Granville did not feel free to press a peace policy

²⁸ For this crisis see Coxe, *Pelham*, Vol. I, ch. 5; Yorke, I, 333, 362 ff.; and Lodge's introduction to the *Private Corresp. Chesterfield and Newcastle*, pp. xi-xiii.

²⁹ Add. MS. 32993, f. 293. This paper is summarized in Yorke, I, 333-35.

³⁰ The views of Pelham and Newcastle are described at some length by Newcastle's secretary, Andrew Stone, in a letter of September 5, 1744, to Hardwicke (Add. MS. 35408, f. 49). Newcastle wrote to Holderness, January 15, 1744/45, that it was the policy of the administration to carry on the war with vigor (Add. MS. 32704, f. 9).

³¹ "Reflections upon the Changes made in 1744", in Yorke, I, 373.

³² *An Apology for a Late Resignation*. This is often ascribed to Chesterfield, but his most recent biographer thinks that it was merely inspired by him (Samuel Shellabarger, *Lord Chesterfield*, New York, 1935, p. 397). Horace Walpole, in his *Memoirs of George II* (2d ed., London, 1847), I, 51, attributes the authorship to Marchmont.

too strongly upon him.³³ Events of the early part of 1745 seemed to indicate that the quickest way to end the war might be to make a vigorous military effort. The death of the Emperor Charles VII in January of that year resulted in the conclusion of peace between Bavaria and Austria and deprived Frederick of Prussia and his German allies of their chief excuse for continuing the war. According to Chesterfield's *Apology* the British ministry was encouraged by these circumstances to pursue the war with greater vigor,³⁴ and Chesterfield himself, who had formerly served as minister at The Hague, was sent to Holland in February, 1745, to persuade the Dutch to increase their efforts. Thus the issue of peace and war and the fate of the ministry depended on the military and diplomatic events of 1745. War, diplomacy, and politics were but three aspects of a single complicated situation, and Newcastle and his colleagues were in the position of a juggler who is trying to keep three balls in the air at once.

Unfortunately for them the hopes of winter were disappointed by the events of spring. On May 11 Marshal Saxe won the first of his great victories, at Fontenoy, and in the succeeding weeks his army overran a considerable part of Flanders. Less than a month later Frederick of Prussia defeated the Austro-Saxon attempt to regain Silesia. The effect of these events was to strengthen the hands of the peace party in Holland and England. The Dutch in particular showed great anxiety to proceed at once with the negotiation of peace, and in this policy they had the support of Henry Pelham and Chesterfield. In July Robert Trevor, British minister at The Hague, with the collaboration of the Dutch pensionary, drew up a project for peace between the maritime powers and France, the general basis of which was a mutual restitution of conquests.³⁵ At the same time the British ministry made a series of diplomatic moves to secure the withdrawal of Prussia from the war.³⁶

Before any of these moves had borne fruit, and before Trevor's peace project had even come into the hands of the ministry, news arrived from another quarter of the world which quite changed the aspect of affairs. In late July, 1745, it became known that a force of colonial militia, assisted by a small British squadron, had compelled the great French

³³ *Apology*, p. 7. ³⁴ P. 11.

³⁵ Lodge, *Studies*, pp. 131-34. A copy of the project is to be found in the "Trevor Manuscripts" in the 14th *Report* of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, app. ix (London, 1895), pp. 121-26.

³⁶ Cox, *Pelham*, I, 255; Lodge, *Great Britain and Prussia in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1923), pp. 58-59.

fortress of Louisbourg to surrender. Probably never before had military events in America exerted such a profound effect upon the political and diplomatic situation of a British government. The first and immediate result was to kill the Trevor project. The situation was well described in a letter of Chesterfield to Trevor, written on August 13: "One, almost insurmountable, difficulty I foresee in any negotiation with France, is our new acquisition of Cape Breton, which is become the darling object of the whole nation, it is ten times more so than ever Gibraltar was, and the people are laying in their claims, and protesting against the restitution of it upon any account. But on the other hand, I foresee the impossibility of keeping it."³⁷

For the politicians the arresting fact about the capture of Louisbourg was the popular acclaim which greeted the victory. This acclaim appears to have been at first the spontaneous outburst of a nation which had waited long for anything to celebrate, but soon the propagandists were busy trying to persuade the public of the vast importance of Louisbourg and to convince it that on no condition must it ever be returned to France.³⁸ Presently, numerous pamphlets appeared in the bookstalls repeating in greater detail, and with long quotations from English and French writers, the same arguments. These efforts in propaganda have never been adequately studied, but there can be no doubt that the agents for the New England colonies in London and the London friends of New England were chiefly responsible for them.³⁹ All these pamphlets repeated in slightly varying language and with much capitalization and italics the same refrain: "CAPE BRETON *never shall, never can be parted with on any Consideration. Rather let the War with France continue these twenty years, provided we only prosecute it on our own Element.*"⁴⁰

The politician who now came forward as the champion of the de-

³⁷ "Trevor Manuscripts", 14th Rep., Hist. MSS. Commission, p. 127. For the similar views of Henry Pelham see page 129, and for an even stronger statement, written in the following December, Coxe, *Pelham*, I, 282.

³⁸ According to dispatches from London printed in the *Boston Weekly News-Letter* for October 3 and November 21, 1745, the Park and Tower guns were fired in honor of the victory, and on September 10 a great celebration was held with music and fireworks.

³⁹ Some details of these activities are given in the *Pepperrell Papers*, Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, ser. 6, X (Boston, 1899), 397, 401, 423. The best survey of the pamphlet literature is that of Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America* (8 vols., Boston, 1884-89), V, 437-39.

⁴⁰ The quotation is from the pamphlet entitled *The great Importance of Cape Breton Demonstrated and Exemplified*, page 51. I have used the copy in the John Carter Brown Library.

mand for the retention of Cape Breton was Bedford. "A peace with France we must have if possible", wrote Newcastle, "a peace with France is impossible without giving up Cape Breton", but "there the Duke of Bedford and his friends will be immovable".⁴¹ From Bedford's connection with the Canada expedition of the following year it might be inferred that he saw at once a chance to shift the emphasis of the war from Europe to America and to embark the government on schemes of colonial conquest, perhaps with the object of advancing his own political fortunes. There are two objections to such an interpretation. In the first place, as late as November, 1745, Bedford opposed the demand of Pitt that the war be made largely a maritime one.⁴² In the second place, Bedford's contemporaries did not regard him as a seeker after popularity. At the time of his appointment to the admiralty the Duke of Richmond described him as "vain, proud, and wrong-headed", and Chesterfield, an unusually good judge of character, said that he had neither the talent nor the desire of pleasing.⁴³ The most tenable hypothesis appears to be that Bedford took much credit to himself for the victory in which the naval contingent under Warren had so ably assisted. The congratulatory letters which he received would tickle the vanity with which contemporaries credited him. The suggestion of the surrender of so important a conquest would offend his pride and arouse his obstinacy.⁴⁴

As a result of this new situation the ministry was now split into three groups, one which desired peace, one which was determined not to purchase peace by the surrender of Cape Breton, and a third group, headed by Newcastle, which was ready to follow whatever course would hold the ministry together. Of the three, that headed by Bedford held the commanding position. The peace party was handicapped by Henry Pelham's unwillingness to break with his brother and by Chesterfield's lack of a parliamentary following, but Bedford carried with him not only his own Whig friends but also a group of Tories who followed his father-in-law, Lord Gower. A policy of emphasizing

⁴¹ To Chesterfield, Oct. 9, 1745, *Private Corresp. Chesterfield and Newcastle*, p. 75. According to the *Apology*, page 14, Bedford "was pleas'd to declare, That if France was Master of Portsmouth, he would hang the Man who should give up Cape-Breton in Exchange for it". Horace Walpole tells a similar story. See *The Letters of Horace Walpole*, ed. by Mrs. Paget Toynbee (Oxford, 1903), II, 194.

⁴² See below, p. 566.

⁴³ Add. MS. 32705, f. 464, and *Miscellaneous Works of the Late Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield* (2d ed., London, 1779), IV, 59.

⁴⁴ Letters congratulating Bedford on the victory, including one from Pitt, are printed in *Corresp. of Bedford*, I, 30, 34, 35. For Bedford's own satisfaction see pages 28, 54.

the colonial aspects of the war would also be acceptable to that formidable free lance, William Pitt, in whom public opinion now and again found its mouthpiece. In this situation is to be found the key to the origins of the expedition of 1746.

Whether Bedford and his friends could force their views upon the ministry would depend largely upon the course of the war. In the summer and autumn of 1745 the war continued to go badly. In mid-August the Young Pretender appeared in arms in Scotland, and a month later he entered Edinburgh. To meet this new danger the government was compelled to withdraw the bulk of the English forces from the Netherlands and even to call upon the Dutch for aid. Meantime Maria Theresa immobilized a large body of Austrian troops to guard the imperial election at Frankfort (September 13). In the Netherlands the French continued to make progress, in Italy the anti-Bourbon forces met with reverses, and in Germany Frederick beat the Austrians at Soor.

The diplomatic repercussions of these events were what might have been expected. The Dutch, balked in their first move for peace by the rejection of the Trevor project, renewed their efforts, and the British ministry so far acquiesced as to agree to a general peace congress, provided it was accompanied by an armistice. But when the Dutch proposed to send an emissary to Paris with a scheme of pacification which included the surrender of Cape Breton, the British government withheld its consent, with the result that the emissary went without specific instructions. The French also were not idle. In view of the growing English embarrassment from the Jacobite rebellion they began putting pressure on the Dutch to make a separate peace.⁴⁵

As the time for the opening of parliament approached, the political situation also began to trouble Newcastle. From the time George II had been compelled to accept Granville's resignation he had taken no pains to conceal from his ministers the feeling that he was, in a sense, their prisoner. "Ministers are kings in this country", was his summing up of the situation. Instead of working with the leaders of the new coalition he continued to confide in Granville, a few of whose friends still remained in the ministry. Between the Pelhams and their new allies there was a tolerable degree of harmony, but Pitt had not yet received satisfaction and might well seek to prove his nuisance value by again joining the ranks of the opposition.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Lodge, *Studies*, pp. 136-41; *Private Corresp. Chesterfield and Newcastle*, p. 73.

⁴⁶ Yorke, I, 383; Cox, *Pelham*, I, 260; *Private Corresp. Chesterfield and Newcastle*, p. 75.

When parliament met on October 17, Newcastle's forebodings proved to be justified. Pitt's motion of October 23 to recall the English troops still remaining in Flanders was defeated by a majority of only twelve votes.⁴⁷ It was generally recognized that circumstances were favorable for a reshuffle of the political cards. The first move, apparently, came from the group which looked to the Prince of Wales for leadership. They insinuated that their support might be had at the price of the re-admission of Granville to the ministry and the dismissal of Chesterfield and Bedford. To accept Granville again as a colleague was more than Newcastle could stomach; his only hope, therefore, lay in making a deal with Pitt and his friends. Accordingly a series of conferences was held in November to ascertain their price. Pitt at once broached the subject of the conduct of the war, demanding, according to Newcastle, "the total alteration of the foreign system, by feeding only the war on the Continent, acting there as auxiliaries—but to increase our navy, and to act as principals at sea in the war against France and Spain". At a final conference, held on November 16, Pitt and his patron, Lord Cobham, argued their case with prominent members of the ministry, including Bedford and Gower. Pitt continued to insist on the virtual abandonment of the Continental war, to which Newcastle replied that such a course might well lead the Dutch to make a separate peace with France, and that England, bereft of her Continental allies, would thus be reduced to her "wooden walls". Pitt refused to believe that the Dutch could or would make a separate peace and "talked much of the great impression we could make upon France when our efforts were singly at sea". Bedford on this occasion supported Newcastle, arguing that it was not possible at that time to increase the navy. Thus the effort to find common ground between Pitt and the ministry proved fruitless, and Pitt continued his attacks on the ministry in parliament.⁴⁸

Again Newcastle was forced to wait upon events, and fortunately for him there came towards the close of 1745 a turn for the better in the military and diplomatic situation. The rapid retreat of the Pretender's forces from Derby early in December relieved the ministry of all fear of a Stuart restoration, and the successes of the Austrians and Sardinians in Italy went far to balance the continued French advance

⁴⁷ *Parl. Hist.*, XIII, 1363 ff.; Williams, I, 138-41; *Private Corresp. Chesterfield and Newcastle*, p. 79.

⁴⁸ The quotations are from a letter of Newcastle to Chesterfield, November 20, 1745, printed in the *Private Corresp. Chesterfield and Newcastle*, pp. 78-86. For Pitt's continued opposition see the "Trevor Papers", *14th Rep.*, Hist. MSS. Commission, p. 133.

in the Netherlands.⁴⁹ When parliament met again after the Christmas holidays, the military and diplomatic situation was already much improved, but the political situation was still clouded. The king, who had been more cordial when the danger from the Pretender was acute, had again grown cold. Granville and the Prince of Wales were as hostile as ever, and Pitt was holding aloof. Newcastle was even considering whether it might not be possible to reshuffle the ministry without including him.⁵⁰

A few days later, however, Pitt approached Bedford and "expressed an inclination to know our foreign scheme". He was now, it appeared, ready to take office and suggested that someone arrange the details with his patron, Lord Cobham. Newcastle at once accepted his overture and saw Cobham, who demanded office not only for Pitt but for others of his "Boys". If anything was said about matters of high policy at this interview, Newcastle does not record it. The result was the cabinet crisis of February 10-14. The king on being told of Cobham's terms put an absolute veto on Pitt and turned to Granville and Bath. To force his hand all the leading members of the ministry resigned, and after Granville and Bath had vainly tried to form a government, the king was forced to take back the old ministers on their own terms. The Pelham brothers were now in complete control of the situation, and Pitt was at last given office.⁵¹

In contemporary accounts of this crisis there is no evidence that any bargain was struck between Pitt and Newcastle as regards the conduct of the war, and one is at a loss to understand why Pitt, who could not come to terms with Newcastle in November, did so in February. Certainly there had been no material change in the government's foreign policy in the interval. The chief move in foreign affairs, a reply to the Dutch appeal for greater assistance in the coming campaign, could only be construed as forecasting a continuance of the Continental war on much the same scale as before.⁵² Chesterfield may have been right in

⁴⁹ Lodge, *Studies*, pp. 97, 101-16; *Private Corresp. Chesterfield and Newcastle*, pp. 95, 126, 132.

⁵⁰ Newcastle to Chesterfield, Jan. 6, 1745/6, *ibid.*, p. 97.

⁵¹ Newcastle's letters of Feb. 18 and Mar. 5 to Chesterfield, *ibid.*, pp. 108, 115. For secondary accounts see Albert von Ruville, *William Pitt, Earl of Chatham* (New York, 1907), I, 259-66, and Yorke, I, 499-505.

⁵² In November Cobham and Pitt had demanded that aid to the Dutch be curtailed, but the reply sent to the Dutch in January was to the effect that the king would aid them "en tout ce qui sera de son pouvoir vû la situation présente de ses royaumes". See Coxe, *Pelham*, I, 285-86; *Parl. Hist.*, XIII, 1396; and *Private Corresp. Chesterfield and Newcastle*, p. 96.

thinking it merely a piece of political jobbery on the part of Lord Cobham.⁵³ All that one can say with assurance is that the entrance of Pitt into the ministry strengthened the group headed by Bedford, which, in principle at any rate, favored a more vigorous maritime war. To this group Pitt and his friends now attached themselves.⁵⁴

It was just a month after the conclusion of the cabinet crisis that we get the first hint that the ministry was considering an expedition against Canada. On March 14 Newcastle dispatched a circular letter to certain colonial governors and naval commanders, announcing that Warren would again command the North American squadron and that he had been instructed to consult with Shirley concerning the practicability of an attempt upon any of the French settlements in North America.⁵⁵ This letter is significant because there is no indication that Bedford was in any way responsible for it. It shows that Newcastle was ready at least to entertain the idea of an attack upon Canada. Chalmers, indeed, inferred from the sequence of events that it was Newcastle who, about this same time, referred to Bedford the recommendations of Shirley and Warren for the conquest of Canada and that this was what directed Bedford's attention to the Canada project.⁵⁶

There is, indeed, a contemporary theory of the origin of the expedition which places the ultimate responsibility for it on the shoulders of Newcastle. According to Chesterfield's *Apology* the basis of the coalition of 1744 was the adoption of "English measures", which was understood to mean an English peace. Newcastle soon found, however, that to keep the favor of the king he must continue the war and succeeded in persuading his new allies of the necessity of this course. But to save their faces, the new recruits to the ministry, with the exception of Chesterfield, proposed to substitute an English war for an English peace. Hence the Canada expedition, to which Newcastle had to consent as the price of their support in continuing the war.⁵⁷ This theory contains some interesting half truths which afford a clue to the real truth. Newcastle, as we know, was not in favor of peace in 1744, but in

⁵³ Chesterfield to Newcastle, Feb. 27, 1745/46, *ibid.*, p. 113.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

⁵⁵ The letter to Governor Wanton of Rhode Island is printed in *Rhode Island Colonial Records*, V, 61. See also Wood, p. 315, and Richmond, III, 2.

⁵⁶ *Introduction to the Revolt of the American Colonies*, II, 242. So far as I know, no other writer has made so definite a statement. Wood merely says (p. 316) that "the admiralty was engaged in digesting the papers already sent by Warren and Shirley and what other information was available upon the project for reducing Canada".

⁵⁷ *Apology*, pp. 17-20. It will be recalled that the *Apology* was not published until 1748.

1746, in consequence of the disasters of 1745, he was not opposed in principle to a tolerable peace. The chief obstacle to a tolerable peace, however, was not the king but Cape Breton.⁵⁸ Newcastle was, indeed, for the time being the victim of the cry, "No peace without Cape Breton", just as the Whigs in 1710 had been victims of their own slogan, "No peace without Spain." But if peace was impossible, the war must continue, and it must be supported by parliament. Peace, Cape Breton, and the future conduct of the war were thus all interconnected.

To make this connection clearer it is necessary to turn again to the military and diplomatic situation on the Continent. About the middle of February, just at the time of the British cabinet crisis, the Dutch states general, very nervous about the continued progress of the French in the Netherlands and about the outlook for the coming campaign, sent an official emissary to sound out the French government about the possibility of peace. The Marquis d'Argenson, who was at this time in charge of the French foreign office, replied to these overtures by drawing up a project for a peace settlement, usually referred to as the *Idées sur la paix*. This project aroused great indignation in England, for it demanded the surrender of Cape Breton, was silent on the question of Italy, and made no mention of the Hanoverian succession, which France had guaranteed by earlier treaties. The ministry was united in rejecting it as a basis for negotiations; Bedford and Gower, according to Newcastle, being as strong as any for this decision. D'Argenson's project was under discussion during the second week in March, and the official reply was sent on March 14, Old Style, the very day on which Newcastle dispatched his circular letter referred to above.⁵⁹ The prospect of a speedy peace having been blasted, it was a wise move on Newcastle's part to explore all the possible means for continuing the war.

That the expedition was undertaken in 1746, in all probability that it was undertaken at all, was due to the Duke of Bedford. On March 24 he sent to Newcastle a lengthy report on the Shirley-Warren proposal of October 29, in which he not only adopted as his own the arguments advanced by Shirley in favor of the conquest of Canada but urged that action be taken at once.⁶⁰ It was in this report that he criticized Shirley's suggestion of relying mainly upon colonial troops for the

⁵⁸ For Newcastle's position in 1744 see page 561, above. For his position in the later part of 1745 and the earlier part of 1746 see *Private Corresp. Chesterfield and Newcastle*, pp. 85, 97, 127-28.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 127; Lodge, *Studies*, pp. 142-47.

⁶⁰ See notes 6 and 56.

undertaking. The plan which he now advanced was one which would obviate the danger that the colonies might develop ideas of independence and would at the same time make it possible to make the attempt during the current year. It was, in short, to send a force of English troops to make the conquest, using the colonial forces merely as auxiliaries.⁶¹

One naturally inquires why one who had the previous November opposed the demands of Pitt for a more extended maritime war now appears as the champion of just such a program. Was it the hasty decision of a rash and headstrong man?⁶² Or was it, as Chalmers supposed, the result of prolonged consideration and mature reflection?⁶³ To these questions there is no certain answer. Bedford's arguments for the conquest of Canada do show his familiarity with the subject. Some of them were not derived from the Shirley-Warren letter but are to be found in the pamphlet literature of the period. Whether Bedford had read any of these pamphlets, indeed whether any of them had as yet seen the light of print, it is now impossible to say. We do know, however, that he had been in communication with Ellis Huske, one of the New Englanders then in England who were active in setting forth the importance of Cape Breton.⁶⁴ Moreover, both because of his past political connections and his present position as first lord of the admiralty, Bedford had a bias in favor of maritime war. The arguments which he had digested made the conquest of Canada seem desirable; the military situation, so unfavorable in November both as regards the rebellion and as regards the Continent, now made it appear practicable.

Bedford's report of March 24 was followed by surprisingly quick action. Four days later Newcastle referred it to a committee consisting of Bedford and two military men, Wade and St. Clair.⁶⁵ Their favor-

⁶¹ Bedford's report is summarized by Wood (pp. 316-17) and in part by Miss Hotblack (p. 45). There is also a summary in the Chalmers Papers relating to Canada in the New York Public Library. For the confusion among later writers which resulted from Bedford's criticism of Shirley's plan, see above, page 555.

⁶² This was apparently the opinion of Lord Hardwicke, who wrote: "I wish our new Friends have not espous'd this in great measure out of complaisance to a good Friend of theirs & ours, qui quicquid vult valde vult" (Add. MS. 32707, f. 5).

⁶³ Chalmers says in his notes on Bedford's report in his Papers relating to Canada that "his Mind was stored with information and his judgement matured with reflection".

⁶⁴ *Pepperrell Papers*, pp. 406, 423. Ellis Huske was the brother of John Huske, a prominent military man of the period. This fact gave the younger Huske an entree into inner political circles. For John Huske see the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁶⁵ *Corresp. of Bedford*, I, 64. From a copy of the instructions to General St. Clair or Sinclair—contemporaries spelled his name both ways—it appears that he had been

able report of March 30 cleared the way for final action by the cabinet.⁶⁶ Bedford labored incessantly, even pressing Newcastle to begin preparations for the expedition before the cabinet had made its decision.⁶⁷

Newcastle was now in something of a dilemma. He had been willing to consider the idea of an expedition against Canada, but he certainly had not contemplated undertaking it in 1746. The results of the consultation of Warren and Shirley, which he had ordered in his letter of March 14, could not possibly have been made known to the government in time to prepare an expedition during that year. Moreover, Warren had written definitely that neither he nor Shirley thought it feasible to make an attempt upon Canada before 1747.⁶⁸ Newcastle's state of mind is well revealed by his letter of April 2 to Hardwicke:

I own I have my doubts about this American Expedition, & yet I don't see how it can be avoided. It has been so much given in to, & will be made the Condition on which our other Measures are to be supported. But that is a sensible Consideration. We are hurried into these Measures by the Impetuosity of a zealous Great Man, who despises Consequences, & thinks & judges of every thing abstractly. You will see how Things stand at present in Holland. I am afraid our American Expedition will determine them immediately to make a separate Peace. . . . But as I said, I don't see how it is now to be avoided. The Thing is popular, will be insisted on by our new Friends, & indeed the Behaviour of France towards us has been such, that I own, I can hardly be against a Project, that may probably greatly distress them. But if we miscarry, it will be a great Expence to no Purpose. If we succeed, I see no end of the War with France, which Consideration, I wonder, does not frighten some friends of mine more than it seems to do. I have talked with Ligonier & Sinclair. They both seem to think the thing practicable, & I think, are not or will not appear to be against it. L^d Hⁿ [Harrington] seems much for it.⁶⁹

Despite the misgivings of the elder statesmen, however, the circumstances were such that they had little choice but to yield. The war on the Continent must be supported for at least one more campaign, but Bedford and his friends, together with the group which had joined the ministry in February, were now demanding as the price of their support for Newcastle's Continental measures his consent to their scheme of an

designated to command the expedition on March 26 (S.P. 42/98, f. 27). The appointment must have been tentative since the cabinet did not make its formal decision until a week later.

⁶⁶ *Corresp. of Bedford*, I, 65-69.

⁶⁷ Stone to Hardwicke, Apr. 2, 1746, Add. MS. 35408, f. 216.

⁶⁸ Warren to Newcastle, Nov. 23, 1745, C.O. 5/44, f. 72, Lib. of Congress Trans.

⁶⁹ Add. MS. 35408, f. 220. Hardwicke's reply (*ibid.*, 32707, f. 5) shows that he too was opposed to the project.

expedition against Canada. To compromise was second nature to Newcastle, and in this case the compromise was made easy by the thought that the Canada scheme would be popular. Whether he and Hardwicke suspected that the delays which experience had taught them to expect in connection with such an enterprise might prevent it from ever having to cross the ocean, it is impossible to say, but it may be that they did.

The compromise which resulted from these considerations is described by Newcastle in a letter of April 6 to Chesterfield:

But, in order to get the concurrence of our new friends for the support of these measures in Parliament [*i.e.*, the support of the war on the Continent], they extremely press an expedition to be forthwith sent for the reduction of Canada. The Duke of Bedford has formed a project for it which is forthwith to be undertaken. Lieut. Gen. St. Clair will have the command, and will go with five regiments of foot besides the regiment of Frampton and two others that were sent from Gibraltar to Louisbourg. All hands are at work to get things ready, but it is as much as we shall do to be in time; for the Duke of Bedford works night and day, and so must every body that would be well with him. . . . I have seen very little of our new friends of the House of Commons. But I hear they go on very well and in great harmony with our old ones. Canada and Quebec will keep all things right.⁷⁰

It will be noted that Newcastle does not mention Pitt by name. Did he whose name is linked with the conquest of Canada have anything to do with planning the expedition of 1746? Apparently he did not. That he was an enthusiastic supporter of it there is abundant evidence, but that he had anything to do with planning it, no evidence at all. On the contrary, in a contemporary letter he gives all the credit to Bedford, attributing "those great and practicable views in America" to him alone.⁷¹ Valuable as Pitt was to the ministry for his parliamentary support, he was not yet one of the inner circle which determined policy. That he was, however, one of those "new friends" concerned in the compromise is indicated by Newcastle's praise of his efforts in behalf of the vote of subsidies for England's Continental allies.⁷²

The evidence just cited offers a convincing explanation of the origin of the Canada expedition. It was not a feint, as Douglass supposed, nor

⁷⁰ *Private Corresp. Chesterfield and Newcastle*, p. 131.

⁷¹ Pitt to Bedford, July 19, 1746, *Corresp. of Bedford*, I, 131.

⁷² Newcastle to Cumberland, Apr. 17, 1746, Add. MS. 32707, f. 67. That part of the letter which describes Pitt as exhibiting on this occasion "the dignity of Sir William Wyndham, the wit of Mr. Pulteney, and the knowledge and judgment of Sir Robert Walpole" is quoted in Cox, *Pelham*, I, 309.

yet a desperate attempt to get something in America to offset the French conquests in the Netherlands, although the fact that the conquest of Canada would improve the diplomatic situation cannot have escaped the notice of the ministry. Neither was it the basis of the coalition of February, 1746. Rather it was the cement of that coalition, the price paid by Newcastle for the support of Bedford and his friends for measures necessary for the continuance of the Continental war. The bargain was concluded not only because the parliamentary situation made it necessary but also because Newcastle believed that the Canada expedition would be popular. "These measures", he wrote to Chesterfield, "will meet with pretty general approbation, when it is known from the proposals of France that we cannot now make peace even upon tolerable grounds, and when it is seen that the war is carried on upon a *national* bottom".⁷³

IV

It remains to attempt an answer to the second question, why the expedition never sailed for America. Were there inordinate delays? Was there gross incompetence? Was there, perhaps, obstruction by those who had only given their consent with reluctance? To the last of these questions an unqualified negative can be given; there is absolutely no evidence of obstruction. As to delay and incompetence, one can only give a qualified answer because it is so difficult to say what could reasonably be expected from an eighteenth century British administration. If such there was, it was certainly not the fault of Newcastle, for the preparations for the expedition were entrusted by the cabinet to Bedford and St. Clair.⁷⁴ It is characteristic of the leisurely official methods of the eighteenth century that Bedford himself, who is described earlier by Newcastle as working day and night, spent much of his time at Bath while preparations for the expedition were still going forward.⁷⁵ In all probability the inexperienced Bedford seriously underestimated

⁷³ *Private Corresp. Chesterfield and Newcastle*, p. 134. Note also the phrase, "the thing is popular", in his letter of April 2 to Hardwicke, cited above.

⁷⁴ S.P. 45/5, f. 198.

⁷⁵ Letters in the *Corresp. of Bedford* (I, 83 ff.) indicate that he was at Bath as early as April 29 and during most of the month of May. The preparations for the expedition were carried on by his colleagues, Legge and Sandwich, from whose letters some information concerning the progress of the expedition can be gleaned. In addition to other difficulties shortly to be mentioned, there was trouble in getting the transports ready to sail from London to Portsmouth. See pp. 102 and 104.

the time it would take to prepare such a force and the difficulties which would inevitably be encountered.

A brief sketch of the chronology of the expedition will serve to throw some light on these points and will at the same time reveal some of the defects of the British naval and military administration. The formal decision to send the expedition was made at a cabinet meeting on April 3.⁷⁶ On April 9 a circular letter was dispatched to the governors of those colonies which were to assist in the enterprise, giving them the necessary information and instructions.⁷⁷ In this letter it was stated that the expedition was to sail late in April or early in May. The cabinet at this time considered May 10 as the latest practicable date for sailing.⁷⁸ St. Clair's instructions are dated May 14, and his first letter from Portsmouth was written on May 23.⁷⁹ On that date the first transports were just beginning to arrive, having been delayed by adverse winds. The unfavorable winds which Newcastle later assigned as the principal cause of the failure of the expedition were certainly not imaginary. Again on June 6 St. Clair wrote that the transports had been unable to come from the Downs, and they did not finally arrive until the twelfth. Embarkation was completed on the thirteenth, and the fleet sailed on the fifteenth but was almost immediately becalmed. Then an adverse wind sprang up, and it was impossible to proceed.⁸⁰

Had the expedition been able to sail at the appointed time, or even as late as June 15, there is every reason to believe that it would have gone to America, but by the middle of June new military and diplomatic developments, together with the lateness of the season, had begun to arouse grave doubt in the minds of many as to the wisdom of letting the expedition leave European waters.⁸¹ Continued French successes

⁷⁶ S.P. 45/5, f. 198.

⁷⁷ Add. MS. 32707, f. 40. This letter is printed in *R. I. Col. Rec.*, V, 162, and in the *Maryland Archives*, XXVIII (Baltimore, 1908), 360. It is interesting to note that Shirley received this letter on May 28, before he received the letter of March 14. See *The Letters and Papers of Cadwallader Colden* (7 vols., New York, 1918-23), III, 208, and the *Corresp. of Shirley*, I, 327.

⁷⁸ So St. Clair wrote in his letter of June 15, 1746, in S.P. 42/98, f. 86. The Canada expedition of 1711 sailed on May 14 and reached Nantasket on June 24. See the *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies, 1711-12*, no. 46, i.

⁷⁹ S.P. 42/98, ff. 27, 76.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, ff. 76, 86, 88; Add. MS. 32707, ff. 348, 352.

⁸¹ St. Clair himself, in his letter of June 15 (S.P. 42/98, f. 86), begged Newcastle "to use your outmost [*sic*] indeavours to prevent those who have schemed out this Expedition, from raising their expectations too high". He further pointed out that the voyage to Louisbourg would take from six to ten weeks and that according to Anson there was no probability of success if the expedition reached the St. Lawrence after the end of July.

in the Netherlands had vastly increased Dutch anxiety for peace, and D'Argenson had so far accommodated himself to their wishes as to submit a new peace project, more detailed than the *Idées* of March, and in several particulars more acceptable to that group in the British ministry which desired an early peace. This project was forwarded to the ministry on May 20.⁸²

There ensued upon its receipt a lively contest between the peace party, headed by Harrington and Pelham, and the war party headed by Newcastle. The advocates of peace were all for abandoning Austria and Sardinia and joining the Dutch in making a separate peace with France. Newcastle, however, with the support of the king, overbore his opponents, and it was decided to inform the Dutch that D'Argenson's project could not be accepted as a basis for negotiations without material alterations. This decision was reached on May 31.⁸³ While the door was not closed to further negotiations, it was now clear that another campaign must be fought. But if the war was to continue, and if the Dutch were to be prevented from making a separate peace, England must make greater efforts to check the progress of the French in the Netherlands. What then was to be done about St. Clair's five thousand men now on shipboard at Portsmouth? Could so large a force be spared for a distant expedition? It was known also that the French had gathered a formidable armada at Brest which was on the point of sailing for an unknown destination. Would it be safe to let St. Clair sail for America until more was known about the movements of this force?

Newcastle's correspondence for late May and early June clearly reveals the difficult position in which the ministry now found itself. Various solutions were suggested. Anson, who supplied the admiralty with the professional knowledge which Bedford lacked, was for letting St. Clair follow the Brest squadron to America. Hardwicke feared that the French were planning a descent upon Scotland, where the embers of the rebellion were still smouldering, and felt that so many men ought not to be sent off to America. Newcastle, who was now cultivating the popular hero Cumberland, suggested the possibility of diverting part of St. Clair's force to Flanders, an idea which greatly appealed to the

⁸² Lodge, *Studies*, p. 153.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 157-62; Coxe, *Pelham*, I, 487-90; *Private Corresp. Chesterfield and Newcastle*, pp. 143-45. According to Lodge (p. 157) even Pitt at this time was in favor of peace. The letter of July 19 to Bedford, cited above, indicates, however, that he was in favor of pursuing Bedford's plans for American conquests. Perhaps the death of the king of Spain, which he mentions in this letter, had changed his mind.

victor of Culloden, who had no use for "Sinclair's wild expedition". Already one correspondent was suggesting that the expedition be dispatched against the French coast to create a diversion and to distress French trade.⁸⁴

Early in June the expedition was discussed in parliament. Lonsdale, a prominent opposition lord, sought and obtained from Hardwicke permission to bring up the matter in the house of lords. Commenting on Lonsdale's request, Hardwicke revealed his own feeling towards the expedition by remarking that "it is so late in the year, if this should end in stopping our American Expedition, we may have no reason to repent it".⁸⁵ Newcastle, however, would not commit himself in public. All that he would say in the debate of June 12 on Lonsdale's motion against sending any troops overseas was that St. Clair's force might be needed to defend Cape Breton if the Brest squadron was destined for America.⁸⁶

The next move was determined by the arrival of news that the Brest armada had eluded Admiral Martin, who had been sent to watch it. On June 25 St. Clair was ordered to return to Spithead, as it was not considered safe for him to proceed to America without reinforcement. The fears of Hardwicke and others of a French descent upon Scotland were so far influential that two regiments were disembarked and sent north to Newcastle.⁸⁷ Some of the ministry, however, were persuaded that the Brest fleet had sailed for America, and Newcastle began to worry about the diplomatic effect of possible French successes in that quarter. "Should they go to North America, & make conquests there", he wrote Cumberland, "we shall loose both the means of making Peace, or War. For, when once they have either retaken Cape Breton; or taken Newfoundland, or Nova Scotia; (which will be the Equivalent for it;) we have no longer in our Hands the Means of purchasing Peace of France; or of inducing this Nation to carry on the War."⁸⁸ Consequently it was now decided to strengthen the convoying squadron, and on July 17 St. Clair was ordered to proceed to America for the protection of Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland. But as it was now too late to make an attempt on Canada during the current year, St. Clair was to winter in America and proceed with the expedition the following spring.⁸⁹

⁸⁴ Add. MS. 32707, ff. 218, 229, 234, 255, 288.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, f. 296.

⁸⁶ *Parl. Hist.*, XIII, 413-15; Coxe, *Pelham*, I, 315-17.

⁸⁷ S.P. 42/98, ff. 90, 94.

⁸⁸ Add. MS. 32707, f. 390.

⁸⁹ S.P. 42/98, f. 98.

On August 6, three weeks after receiving these instructions, St. Clair again tried to sail, but again the fleet was turned back by the wind. St. Clair's courage now began to sink lower. He had just learned from Commodore Knowles, who was the commandant at Louisbourg, that the fortress was in ruins and that firewood and provisions were hard to obtain. Therefore he suggested that he be permitted to sail for some more southerly port in the colonies. Lestock, who commanded the convoying squadron and whose conduct in the action of February 11, 1744, off Toulon gave little reason for believing him a man of courage, seconded this request.⁹⁰ The government acquiesced, but still St. Clair was dissatisfied. In view of his ignorance of the colonies he would have preferred, so he wrote Newcastle, to have definite orders where to go. Presently, however, he and Lestock were able to come to a decision. They would sail for Boston. It was now August 18. The Brest squadron had been gone nearly ten weeks, time enough for it to do inestimable damage to British interests in America.⁹¹ Just what St. Clair could do at Boston, other than winter there, it was difficult to see.

This was the thought that now occurred to the king, but what was to be done with the expedition which had been assembled at such great expense, and which represented the hopes of such influential politicians as Bedford and Pitt? The king at first was for sending it to Flanders, but Newcastle felt that this would be tantamount to confessing that the idea of sending it to America had been abandoned. It was therefore decided to order Lestock and St. Clair to make a descent upon some place on the coast of France. After this enterprise was over, the troops were to be brought back to the west of England or the south of Ireland, where they would be available for dispatch to America in the spring.⁹² Everyone was pleased with the suggestion, even Bedford, who acknowledged that it was now too late to send St. Clair to America. Newcastle almost bubbled over with satisfaction. "I send you all the Minutes & Letters relating to this Transaction", he wrote Hardwicke, "by which you will see the Foundation I went upon, viz, the absolute Necessity of

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, ff. 108, 110, 114. For the action off Toulon and Lestock's courtmartial see W. L. Clowes, *Royal Navy* (7 vols., London, 1897-1903), III, 93-106. It is apparent that both St. Clair and Lestock stood in awe of public opinion. The trials which followed the action off Toulon had been attended by furious debates in parliament and great popular agitation.

⁹¹ S.P. 42/98, ff. 116, 118.

⁹² Add. MS. 32708, ff. 126, 138, 150; *ibid.*, 35408, f. 258.

keeping up the design of this North American Expedition. Every body now, King, Duke, etc., approve, & I really expect great good from it."⁹³

The adventures of the expedition during its ill-fated attack upon L'Orient do not here concern us. What is significant is that this failure did not lead to the immediate abandonment of the design of an American expedition. Lestock, with the bulk of the fleet, returned to England, but in accordance with instructions St. Clair's force was taken to Cork and Kinsale. It was now late October, and parliament would soon meet.⁹⁴ Plans for the coming year must be made so that parliament could vote the necessary supplies. The cabinet was deep in schemes for an Austro-Sardinian invasion of France through Provence to capture Toulon, and there appears to have been some idea of coupling the Canada expedition with this scheme.⁹⁵ The capture of Toulon and the conquest of Canada would certainly be a deadly blow at the naval and maritime power of France. From a memorandum in the Public Record Office it appears that a plan was considered for sending against Canada in 1747 a larger force than that which had been assembled the previous spring, with Anson in command of the fleet and Bland or Huske in command of the land forces.⁹⁶ A special credit of £500,000 for carrying on the war, which according to this plan was to be used for the Canada expedition, was actually voted by parliament.⁹⁷ Most of this activity apparently was due to Newcastle, who seems to have been more interested in promoting the continuance of the expedition than Bedford, who was again at Bath.⁹⁸

Early in November, Bedford, still at Bath, was asked for his opinion concerning the future disposition of St. Clair's force. It was rumored that the French were planning an invasion to revenge the descent upon L'Orient, and some felt it would be wise to get this force back to Eng-

⁹³ *Ibid.*, f. 262. The "Duke" referred to is undoubtedly Cumberland.

⁹⁴ Lestock's squadron reached St. Helens on October 25; St. Clair's forces reached Cork and Kinsale on October 30 (S.P. 42/98, ff. 237, 243). Parliament met on November 18 (*Parl. Hist.*, XIII, 1424).

⁹⁵ Lodge, *Studies*, p. 198; Add. MS. 32709, f. 86.

⁹⁶ A copy of this memorandum from C.O. 42/13 was kindly communicated to me by Professor Pargellis. It is dated "about 1745", but from internal and other evidence it almost certainly dates from the autumn of 1746.

⁹⁷ *Parl. Hist.*, XIII, 1433.

⁹⁸ This may be inferred from Bedford's letter to Newcastle of October 28, written from Bath, in which he says, "I entirely agree with your Grace of the expediency of concerting a Plan of Operation, and the measures which will be necessary to be taken early next Spring, as well for the future Reduction of Canada, as for the more immediate defence of our Conquest in those parts" (Add. MS. 32713, f. 346).

land.⁹⁹ Bedford, as was to be expected, objected and strongly urged that the attack on Canada be prosecuted the following spring.¹⁰⁰ A few days later, however, apparently at the instance of the king, it was decided to order St. Clair back to England. To soften the blow, Newcastle, in his letter to Bedford, suggested that this need not mean the abandonment of the expedition.¹⁰¹ Bedford and his friends, however, sensed the fact that this move really meant the end of the enterprise. Bedford seems to have taken the blow calmly, but Pitt is represented as having made strong remonstrances.¹⁰²

It was left to Admiral Warren, whose endorsement of Shirley's plans for the conquest of Canada had done so much to promote the expedition, to give it the finishing blow. Newcastle, it appears, was still fearful of adverse political repercussions if the expedition was abandoned, and no definite decision as to its fate was made until after Warren's arrival late in December.¹⁰³ A cabinet meeting was held on January 12, 1747, at which Warren was present. His arguments convinced the cabinet, and it was decided to abandon the expedition.¹⁰⁴ With the sending of Newcastle's letter of May 30, 1747, ordering the disbandment of the colonial levies, the expedition may be considered as officially at an end.¹⁰⁵

Thus ended the Canada expedition of 1746, one of the least creditable episodes in British colonial history. Its significance, however, lies not in the field of imperial strategy or administration but in the field of politics, and its whole course was determined by political considerations. The cost was borne by the British taxpayer, who paid the bills, by the British troops who were confined for weeks at a time in narrow and

⁹⁹ *Corresp. of Bedford*, I, 180.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 182; *Grenville Papers* (4 vols., London, 1852-53), I, 54.

¹⁰¹ Newcastle to Bedford, Nov. 20, 1746, Add. MS. 32713, f. 470. The orders to St. Clair are dated November 18 (S.P. 42/98, f. 253). It is interesting to note that St. Clair's force did not reach England until the following March, adverse winds again being the chief factor in the delay. For evidence that the experience of this expedition with the wind was not unique see the article in *Blackwood's Magazine* (CCXXXII, 331-32), cited above.

¹⁰² *Grenville Papers*, I, 55; *Corresp. of Bedford*, I, 199. I interpret the phrase, "a friend of ours whom you saw at Bath", to mean Pitt. Pitt was at Bath on October 29. See the *Grenville Papers*, I, 52.

¹⁰³ My authority for this statement is Admiral Richmond (III, 48-49), who refers to the Sandwich Papers as his source of information.

¹⁰⁴ There is a minute of this meeting in C.O. 5/36. See also Wood, p. 369.

¹⁰⁵ Extracts from this letter are printed in the *Corresp. of Shirley*, I, 386. From a letter of Hardwicke it appears that Newcastle sent him a draft of this order early in March (Add. MS. 32710, f. 327). The long delay in terminating the expedition is in marked contrast to the speed with which it was originally decided upon.

unwholesome quarters on transports, and by the colonial levies who sickened and died in camp while the politicians debated what to do. From the expedition no one gained glory, neither Bedford who planned it, nor his colleagues who gave their official consent, nor the officers who commanded it. If anyone profited, it was Newcastle, who at this price cemented his alliance with Bedford and Pitt and was thereby enabled to establish his political ascendancy.

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NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

THE MEDITERRANEAN SPICE TRADE

FURTHER EVIDENCE OF ITS REVIVAL IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

THE Portuguese did not reduce the Levantine spice trade to permanent insignificance. Although the flow of spices through the traditional routes of the Levant was severely checked during the first decades of the sixteenth century, it later found its way through the obstacles raised by the Portuguese. Even pepper again came through the Red Sea in approximately the volume of the years before the Portuguese opened their new route to India. This thesis was suggested by the following figures for the Venetian pepper exports from Alexandria, which were presented in the *American Historical Review* of January, 1933:

Yearly average before Portuguese	
interference was felt.....	about 1,150,000 lbs. Eng.
Yearly average, 1560-64 inclusive.....	1,310,454 lbs. Eng. ¹

The source of the figures for 1560-64 and their isolated character make it desirable to present corroboratory evidence of the revival of the Levantine spice trade.

The travel diary of a young Venetian nobleman, Alessandro Magno, furnishes a picture of the trade in Egypt in the middle of the century.² On April 4, 1561, Alessandro sailed for Alexandria in the "Croce", a round ship of about 540 tons.³ Such ships had very largely taken the place of the merchant galleys which in the previous century monopolized the shipping of the more precious types of merchandise.⁴ Copper

¹ Frederic C. Lane, "Venetian Shipping during the Commercial Revolution", *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVIII, 228-29. The source for the later figure is an isolated sheet in the Donà della Rosa family papers, Busta 217, Museo Civico, Venice. The figures given are there said to be copied from the records of the Venetian consulate in Alexandria.

² Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D. C., MS. 1317.1, no paging, third voyage. I am indebted to Professor Kent Roberts Greenfield for calling this manuscript to my attention and to Dr. J. Q. Adams, the director of the library, for permission to quote from it.

³ The description of this ship in Magno's diary agrees with that in the ship lists from the Donà della Rosa papers (Lane, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVIII, 238).

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 229. The galleys auctioned for the voyage to Alexandria after 1536 were as follows: 2 in 1549, 2 in 1550, 2 in 1554, 2 in 1555, 2 in 1557, 3 in 1563, 3 in 1564—Archivio di Stato di Venezia (cited hereinafter as A.S.V.), Senato, Terminazione, Incanti Galere, Reg. 2, lib. 4 and 5.

and woolen cloth, which had been among the chief items in the cargo lists of the galleys, bulked large among the wares carried by the "Croze".⁵ As his own venture, Magno took along some silk cloth and two thousand ducats.

As soon as he reached Alexandria, on May 2, he presented his letters of recommendation to the resident Venetian merchants and was assigned a room in one of the houses or *fondachi* belonging to the Venetian colony. The Venetians had two such *fondachi* at Alexandria, the other "nations", the Genoese, Ragusans, and French, who were less numerous, each having one. Venetians were settled at Cairo also, for in 1552 they had obtained permission to trade in that city.⁶ Young Alessandro soon moved there and spent a good part of his time there seeing the sights and taking a trip to the pyramids. When at Alexandria he had bartered some of his silk cloth for pepper and had used some of his cash to buy more pepper. Before making the rest of his purchases he meant to await the arrival of a caravan which was expected from Tor, the Red Sea terminus of the ships bringing wares from India. After about a month of sight-seeing around Cairo he returned to Alexandria and then wrote instructing a relative in Cairo to invest the rest of his funds in pepper as soon as the new merchandise arrived from Tor. These plans were upset by the decision of the captain of the "Croze" not to wait any longer. As soon as it was known that the

⁵ Alessandro Magno gives the complete cargo of the "Croze" as follows: *Rami lavoradi* (manufactured copper), *balle* 250; *Rami in verga* (copper in bars), *cassette* 85; *Pani de lana* (woolen cloth), *balle* 129; *Pani de seda* (silk cloth), *cassette* 21; *Carisee* (kerseys), *balle* 28; *Barette* (caps), *casse* 35; *Coralli* (coral), *casse* 23; *Ambre* (amber), *casse* 1; *Coralli e ambre* (coral and amber), *casse* 12; *Sbiacche* (white lead), *barili* 100; *Jrios* (Florentine iris. A dye ?), *caratelli* 15; *Banda raspa* (tin plate, filed down), *barili* 22; *Pater nostri de vedro* (glass rosaries), *casse* 7; *Pater nostri e barrette* (rosaries and caps), *casse* 3; *Merce* (merchandise), *cai* 11; *Carta* (paper), *balle* 30; *Assafetida* (assafetida), *fagoti* 2; *Tabini* (a kind of fine cloth ?), *ligacetto* 1; *Contadi* (cash), *ducati* —. Alessandro gives also the cargo for Zante and says the total freight paid by shippers was eighteen hundred ducats. Cargo lists of galleys may be found for comparison in Marino Sanuto, *I Diarii* (Venice, 1879-1903), III, 1187-88 (for 1500); IX, 536 (for 1510); XII, 77-78 (for 1511); and XXXX, 175-76 (for 1525).

⁶ [Friedrich] Wilken, *Über die Venetianischen Consulen zu Alexandrien im 15^{ten} und 16^{ten} Jahrhunderte*, K. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, *Abhandlungen aus dem Jahre 1831* (Berlin, 1832), Historisch-philologische Klasse, p. 44. The restriction of Venetian traders to Alexandria had become galling to Venetians in the middle of the sixteenth century because Jews and others interjected themselves between the Arabs in Cairo and the Venetians in Alexandria. These intermediaries not only took a middleman's profit in the trade in grain and spices but even succeeded in loading their own spices and other wares on Venetian ships. To meet this competition the Venetians requested that they be allowed to trade at Cairo. A.S.V., Senato Mar, Reg. 32, f. 35-36.

ship was leaving, "everyone began to buy furiously. Pepper, which before had been worth twenty ducats a cantar went to twenty-two, and could not be had, and everything else similarly." Alarmed by the sudden rise in prices, Alessandro canceled his orders to buy pepper in Cairo and put the rest of his money into cloves and ginger which he bought in Alexandria. The "Croce" weighed anchor on October 19, before the arrival of the autumn caravan from Tor,⁷ yet it carried more than a half million pounds of spices including a little more than 400,000 lbs. Eng. of pepper.⁸ Alessandro was back in Venice on November 18 and soon sold at 97 ducats a *cargo* the pepper he had bought at the equivalent of a fraction more than 56 ducats a *cargo*. He figured his profits as 266 ducats, 18 denarii, and 22 piccoli.

Syria as well as Egypt had been a center for spice exports to the West

⁷ Because of the monsoons, wares from India reached Egypt mainly in the fall. Wilhelm von Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen âge* (Leipzig, 1885-86), II, 446-47, 500.

⁸ In his travel diary Magno gives two lists of the cargo of the ship, one from the record of the Venetian consulate, one from the ship's manifest. The largest items among the spices were entered on the ship's manifest in *colli*, and the total number of *colli* is 478, which, at 1120 lbs. Eng. per *colli*, is 525,360 lbs. Other items are given in *nichesse*, *fardi*, *casse*, etc., the weights of which are unknown to me. Besides spices and drugs the ship carried a few bales of cotton, linen, and carpets, some hides, and 800 *ribebe* of broad-beans. The following cargo of spices and drugs is given from the records of the consulate in cantara (presumably cantara of different weights since the units used in measuring were different for different spices), except in the case of indigo: Piper (pepper), cantara 4452; Zenzeri buli (dressed or coated [?]) ginger), 266; Belledi (ginger native to west coast of India), 828; Sorati (ginger from Surat), 554; Mordassi (ginger with biting taste [?]), 96; Mechini (ginger from near Mecca), 45½; Zedoaria (zedoary), 35½; Canelle (cinnamon), 32½; Nose (nutmeg), 61; Garoffoli affus^{de} (cloves), 26; Spigo nardo (spikenard), 6½; Macis (mace), 32½; Galanga (galingale), 18¼; Boraso pate (borax cakes), 4; Zucari (sugar), 66; Sandoli rossi (red sanderswood), 24; Nose condite pate (candied nutmeg cakes), 4; Porcellette (purslane or pursley [?]), 4; Assafetida (assafetida), 2; Aloe patico (hepatic aloes), 138; Salarmoniago (salammoniac), 3½; Turbiti (turpeth), 7½; Cocole (kermes dye), 72; Mira (myrrh), 50; Incenso (frankincense), 178; Penacchi (plumes), 34; Goma arabica (gum Arabic), 97; Endeghi (indigo) . . . zurli (bundles wrapped in cowhide), 43; Mirabolani (myrobalans), 50; Tamarindi (tamarind), 91; Cassia (cassia), 47; Curcuma (turmeric), 20; Piper longo salvadego (long pepper, wild), 23; Siena (senna), 100; Zenzeri verdi (green ginger), 4. Cargo lists of galleys may be found for comparison in *I Diarii di Girolamo Priuli* (published in *Rerum Italicarum scriptores*, 2d ed., Vol. XXIV, pt. 3), Vol. I (Castello, 1911), p. 73 (for 1497), and in Sanuto, XIV, 25-26 (for 1512).

The equivalence, 1 *collo* = 1120 lbs. Eng. is based on Sanuto, XVII, 191, and is presumably a rough general average. Copies of invoices giving individually the weights of fifty-nine *colli* shipped from Alexandria in 1497 show that their weights varied between 968 lbs. Eng. and 1222 lbs. Eng. The average for the fifty-nine bales or *colli* was 1083 lbs. Eng. per *collo*. A.S.V., Misc. Gregolin, Busta 10, Lettere commerciali, fragment of a letter book of Michiele da Lezze.

in the fifteenth century, and Syria shared the revival in the mid-sixteenth century. Here also the Venetians moved their chief colony farther into the interior and transferred their consulate from Damascus to Aleppo, which was nearer to the route to Bagdad and Basra. This route gave access to the wares of India, whence, says a *relazione* of 1553, "come all the spices, which are one of the primary foundations of the trade of our colony".⁹ The arrivals at both Aleppo and Damascus of caravans with spices are described in the dispatches of the Venetian consuls, Giovanni Battista Basadona (1556-57) and Andrea Malipiero (1563-64).¹⁰ From 1560 to 1563, however, during the Turkish-Portuguese hostilities, the caravans from Basra were very small, and while the Venetian trade at Alexandria prospered, that at Aleppo languished.¹¹

On the volume of the spices moving through the Levant in the mid-sixteenth century considerable can be learned from Portuguese sources. The Portuguese embassy in Rome assembled what news they could collect from the Levant in order to warn their royal master of the preparation of Turkish war fleets in the Red Sea or Persian Gulf.¹² In 1559 Lourenço Pires de Távora became Portuguese ambassador to the papal court,¹³ and he at once set to work to improve the Portuguese news service in the Levant. He engaged the services of two Jews, Isaac Becudo and Mathew Becudo, who possessed the friendships or connections necessary for gathering information and for sending secret dispatches to the Portuguese consul in Venice. Isaac posted himself at Aleppo, Mathew at Cairo,¹⁴ and their letters were forwarded from Venice to Rome and from Rome to Lisbon.¹⁵ Those of Mathew, at least, described not only the naval activity but also the spice trade, and

⁹ Eugenio Albèri, *Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato*, III (Florence, 1840), 223, "Relazione anonima della guerra di Persia". See also the *relazione* of Marino Cavalli in 1560 (*ibid.*, III, 283-84), that of Daniele Barbarigo in 1564 (*ibid.*, VI, 3-10), and Guglielmo Berchet, *Relazioni dei consoli veneti nella Siria* (Turin, 1866), introduction.

¹⁰ A.S.V., *Relazioni* (Collegio, Secreta), Consoli, Busta 31. I am indebted to the Social Science Research Council for a grant-in-aid which made it possible to consult these and the later cited reports of Venetian consuls.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, letter from Lorenzo Tiepolo, May, 1563; Museo Civico Correr, Venice, Cod. Cicogna, Busta 3154, *relazione* of Lorenzo Tiepolo, published by Sacerdote Daniele Canal, *Per Nozze Passi-Valier Tiepolo* (Venice, 1857), p. 40; A.S.V., Senato Mar, Reg. 35, f. 29, 164.

¹² *Corpo Diplomatico Portuguez*, published by the Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa, ed. by L. A. Rebello da Silva and others (Lisbon, 1862-1910), III, 396-97; IV, 14-15; VII, 35, 153, 201, 434; VIII, 115, 364.

¹³ *Ibid.*, VIII, 148.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 171-75, 396; IX, 13, 108, 489.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, VIII, 236, 250, 354; IX, 108, 251.

Pires interested himself in this trade. His career before coming to Rome had given him occasion to be informed about it. He had sailed to India as admiral of a spice fleet in 1546.¹⁶ Later, when he was the Portuguese ambassador to the Emperor Charles V, King John III acted on his advice in closing the royal spice selling agency in Antwerp.¹⁷ At Rome Pires supplemented the information furnished by the Jews already mentioned with reports from Venetians, Genoese, and Ragusans,¹⁸ and above all from Antonio Pinto, a Portuguese, who became Pires's secretary. Pinto had been at Cairo as a captive of the Moslems and after his release returned there to negotiate the ransom of other prisoners.¹⁹

After Pinto's return from the latter trip, Pires wrote in November, 1560, as follows: "From this Antonio Pinto of Cairo and also from important persons of Venice and Ragusa with whom I have spoken, I understand that there come to Alexandria each year 40,000 quintals [4,480,000 lbs.] of spices, being pepper for the principal part". Pires then described in detail the routes by which the spices came from India and concluded, "there being so much which comes to the dominion of the Turks, it is no wonder that so little comes to Lisbon".²⁰

So seriously did Pires consider the competition of the routes through the Red Sea and Persian Gulf that he advised arranging a contract to have the spices for the king of Portugal brought through the Levant in case peace could be arranged with the Turks. The chances of peace seemed to him slight in 1560 because of the "insolence" of the Turks,²¹ but the possibility of such an arrangement between the Portuguese and the sultan was worrying Venetian statesmen four years later.²²

Large quantities of spices continued to reach Alexandria for some years after 1560. In 1561 spices were so abundant in Egypt as to encourage a rumor at Venice and Florence that the Portuguese viceroy of India was in revolt and therefore had sent the spices to Alexandria instead of to Lisbon. Not crediting this wild rumor, Pires sought some other explanation of the "disorder in the guarding of pepper". For that year, at least, it seemed that the Levantine supply of spices would dominate the European market, for the Portuguese fleet to India had

¹⁶ Fortunato de Almeida, *História de Portugal* (Coimbra, 1922-29), III, 435 n.

¹⁷ Fr. Luiz de Sousa, *Annaes de elrei Dom João Terceiro*, ed. by A. Herculano (Lisbon, 1844), pp. 420-23.

¹⁸ *Corpo Dipl. Port.*, IX, 110, 134-35, 303.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, VIII, 154, 174, 295, 415; IX, 89-90, 109, 485.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, IX, 110-11. This passage is mentioned by Almeida, III, 562.

²¹ *Corpo Dipl. Port.*, IX, 134-36, 251-52.

²² Albèri, VI, p. 6, *relazione* of Daniele Barbarigo.

missed the monsoons. The Venetians and Germans were counting on the scarcity of spices in Lisbon and were pushing up the price in Venice. The whole situation, said Pires, was a clear demonstration of how much damage the Portuguese king suffered from the competition of the Red Sea route.²³

Since Lourenço Pires left the Portuguese embassy in Rome early in the spring of 1562, we have no more of his illuminating reports.²⁴ The spy in Cairo, Mathew Becudo, was caught, imprisoned, and sentenced to death. His friends and his money secured his release, however, and he was able to send further reports, at least on spices, to the Portuguese consul in Venice. In October, 1564, Mathew recorded the capture by the Portuguese fleet of four Moslem merchant ships near Mecca, yet, in the same letter, he estimated that 30,000 quintals of pepper would enter the Red Sea that year and said that Venetian sources estimated the pepper available at 25,000 quintals (2,800,000 lbs. Eng.).²⁵

Large quantities arrived during the next two years also, according to the letters from the Venetian consul at Cairo. In August, 1565, he wrote that messengers from Mecca reported the arrival at Jiddah with spices of the following ships: one from Daibul, four from Gujarat, two from Surat, eight from Baticalà, three from Calicut, two from Mordassi (?), and three from Assi (a kingdom in the island of Sumatra). Two others from Assi were expected. Next year, in May, 1566, he reported that five ships from Assi and three from Baticalà had already reached Jiddah with 15,000 *boara*, about 24,000 cantara of pepper (2,256,000 lbs. Eng.). Even if the additional ships expected from Gujarat, Calicut, and elsewhere did not arrive, he wrote, an excellent supply of spices was assured for that fall.²⁶

These figures, from both Portuguese and Venetian sources, indicate that the importation of spices from Alexandria to Europe about 1560 was as large or larger than it had been in the late fifteenth century. They suggest that shipments from the India Ocean to the Red Sea roughly equaled or occasionally exceeded the Portuguese imports.²⁷

²³ *Corpo Dipl. Port.*, IX, 251, 261, 271, 277, 303-304.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, IX, 508.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, IX, 472; X, 186. That the amount reaching Egypt may have been twice the amount reaching Venice is understandable in view of the consumption of the Levantine countries and the imports of Ragusa and other rivals of Venice.

²⁶ A.S.V., Dispacci, Consoli, Busta 20. I assume that the cantar referred to by the consul was the Alexandrian *cantar forfori* of about 94 lbs.

²⁷ Heyd (II, 533) estimated Portuguese imports at 25,000 to 35,000 quintals, but the amount actually received, 1503-1506, was less. Leonardo da Ca'Masser, "Relazione sopra

spice market seemed to Pires a particularly alarming aspect of the situation which he thus described in 1560:

The Fuggers of Augsburg sent the last year one of their factors to buy pepper in Alexandria to try out that route. Beginning with only 10,000 crusados he bought a quantity which they loaded in a Ragusan ship and from there in long boats to a place belonging to the emperor which is called Fiume. He returned this September with a larger sum [and] ought to buy advantageously [by] this route, and it would be very bad to have this buyer or bidder absent from the contracts and purchases in Portugal, but this business of the Fuggers being to the disadvantage of the export of the Venetians and passing by a route through their sea, I believe they will arrange to stop it.³²

The use by the great German merchant houses of Ragusa as a way station may be the explanation also of the agents posted in Cairo and Alexandria by the firm of Ulstetter.³³

Although Pires did not mention French merchants, Marseilles also imported spices from Alexandria. The diplomatic alliance of France and Turkey was supplemented in 1535 by commercial treaties which gave the French a legal standing on which to base competition with the Venetians in the Ottoman Empire.³⁴ The Marseilles merchants whose company received the rights to coral fishing off Tunis were pushed into the Levant trade because most of the coral had to be marketed in Alexandria. From the papers of this *Compagnie du corail* we learn that in 1565 its ships came from Alexandria full of spices and these spices from the Levant were sent to Lyons, Paris, and even to Rouen. They competed in Toulouse with the spices brought through Bordeaux from Lisbon.³⁵

Why could so much spice be shipped to Europe through the Levant in spite of Portuguese control of the route around Africa? Although an answer to that question cannot be fully given and demonstrated within the limits of this note, a suggestion may not be out of order. Portuguese policy was dominated by the desire for high prices, and the

³² *Corpo Dipl. Port.*, IX, 111-12.

³³ Falke, *Zeitsch. f. Deut. Kulturgesch.*, IV, 611. Because of the Venetian restriction on the trade of German residents in Venice, André-E. Sayous expresses doubt of Falke's assertion in an article, "Le commerce de Melchior Manlich et Cie d'Augsburg à Marseille et dans toute la Méditerranée entre 1571 et 1574" (*Revue historique*, CLXXVI [1935], 396), but the existence of a route around Venice through Fiume and Ragusa renders it quite credible.

³⁴ Paul Masson, *Histoire du commerce français dans le Levant au XVII^e siècle* (Paris, 1896), pp. xii-xiv.

³⁵ Paul Masson, *Compagnies du corail* (Paris, 1908), pp. 123-25. See also Masson, *Histoire du commerce*, pp. xv-xvi, and Sayous, *Rev. Hist.*, CLXXVI, 406.

Portuguese "monopoly" depended upon interfering with the Red Sea trade. The prices charged by the Portuguese at Lisbon or Antwerp were so high that the Levantine spice trade could be revived whenever Portuguese interference could be overcome. For some decades after 1500 the Portuguese put serious obstacles in the way of the Red Sea trade and forced the prices of spices at Alexandria up above their fifteenth century level. Later the Portuguese officials in India became so inefficient, or so easily corrupted, that they no longer placed costly obstacles in the way of trade through the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. A Venetian consul reported that the spices which came to Cairo were "allowed to pass by the Portuguese soldiers who govern India in the Red Sea, for their profit against the commands of their king, for they can make a living in that region only by selling cinnamon, cloves, nutmeg, mace, ginger, pepper, and other drugs".³⁶

The years 1560-66, for which the evidence presented is most detailed, may have been the peak of the revival, but spices from the Levant were already affecting Antwerp prices in 1540.³⁷ Alexandria and Aleppo remained sources of spice shipments to Europe during the rest of the century. When Philip II of Spain became king of Portugal he tried to put new energy into cutting the Red Sea route,³⁸ but spice cargoes were still coming to the Levant when the Dutch ships reached India.³⁹ For the Venetians as well as the Portuguese the arrival of the Dutch in the Indian Ocean was counted a catastrophe.⁴⁰ Again Venetian consuls in the Levant, like those of a hundred years before, lamented the decline of the caravans which used to arrive from India rich with spices.⁴¹

³⁶ Museo Civico-Correr, Venice, Cod. Cicogna, Busta 3154, *relazione* of Lorenzo Tiepolo in 1556 (in Canal). See the *relazione* of Antonio Tiepolo in 1572 (Albèri, XIII, 204), which says that the "robbery" of the Portuguese officials in India allowed Alexandria to participate in the spice trade, "perhaps for the greater part".

³⁷ Florence Edler de Roover, "The Market for Spices in Antwerp, 1538-1544", *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, XVII (1938), 215-18. The imports of Venice from Alexandria picked up enormously, and from a low level, between 1550 and 1554. Museo Civico-Correr, Venice, Cod. Cicogna, Busta 3154, *relazione* of Daniele Barbarigo.

³⁸ Fitzler, *Vierteljahrsch. f. Soz.- und Wirtschaftsgesch.*, XXVIII, 248 ff.; *Fugger News-Letters*, ser. 2, ed. by Victor von Klarwill, trans. by L. S. R. Byrne (London, 1926), pp. 109, 111; Albèri, IX, 309, and XIII, 396.

³⁹ Berchet, pp. 80, 102-103.

⁴⁰ *Fugger News-Letters*, ser. 1, ed. by Klarwill (New York, 1924), no. 201, "in time great harm will befall the kingdom of Portugal and the Venetians" (italics mine).

⁴¹ The *relazione* of 1625 by Antonio Capello, says: "Questi [*i.e.*, Venetians in Egypt] da certo tempo in quà sono diminuti et semati assai di numero et di conditione per il mancamento delle specie dell'Indie, che per la nuova navigazione ritrovata da fiamenghi

The evidence here presented indicates that the Mediterranean cities had a prominent part in the spice trade during certain years in the later sixteenth century. How far that affected their general importance as commercial centers is a different question and one which cannot be answered without taking into consideration a great many other factors. The answer might involve the conclusion that spices were a relatively minor element in the shift of the commercial center of Europe from the Mediterranean to the North Sea. The spectacular vicissitudes of the spice trade have attracted so much attention that there is real danger of overemphasizing their influence.

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hanno preso altro corso ne capitano più nel Cairo o in poca quantita; in particular il garofalo veniva tutto da quelle parti et hora non se ne vede, et bisogna a chi ne vuole farlo venire di qua." Museo Civico-Correr, MS., P. D. 306c II and MS. Wcovich-Lazzari, Busta 20. The *relazione* of Gerolamo Foscarini, 1628, says: "Diverse sono le cause, per le quali, da molti anni in qua, il negotio di tutto il Levante e quello d'Alessandria in particular è grandemente decaduto. La prima, senza dubbio fu, la navigation ritrovata da Fiamenghi", A.S.V., Relazione (Collegio, Secreta), Consoli, Busta 31. Earlier *relazioni* of 1597, 1602, and 1615, in the same *busta*, make no mention of the Dutch. For *relazioni* from Syria in these years see Berchet.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL HISTORY

A Historian's Creed. By HENRY OSBORN TAYLOR. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1939. Pp. 137. \$1.50.)

Historian and Scientist: An Essay on the Nature of History and the Social Sciences. By GAETANO SALVEMINI. (*Ibid.* Pp. viii, 203. \$1.75.)

On the Writing of History. By Sir CHARLES OMAN, Chichele Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1939. Pp. xi, 307. \$2.50.)

Dr. Taylor's book is a highly personal one. "Convincing arguments", he says, "are hardly to be looked for in an essay upon the influences and conditions bringing some degree of linkage and expectedness into history". The essay is less a reasoned argument than a kind of brooding oral meditation, in which the author is accounting to himself for the influences that have disposed him to believe something rather than attempting to convince anyone else of the validity of those beliefs. He finds everywhere—in the material world, in history, in the individual life—constant change and persisting continuities, so that any present situation is the immediate result of the immediate past situation and the remote result of all past situations. Otherwise, this process is called the evolutionary process, and the evolutionary process in history appears to "carry purpose", if not as "an antecedent cause" at least as a "directive influence", so that the trend of human faculties "from the more violent to the more rational follows the sequence of events". In short, Dr. Taylor feels that one is in some sense in tune with the infinite in promoting the rational and humane values, which by their persistence and development appear to reflect some universal benevolence and purpose. The essay represents the considered opinions of an able and thoughtful mind, fortified by long experience and great learning, and may be read with profit by all those who accept the author's values, even if they do not find any origin for them that transcends the human mind.

The books of Professors Salvemini and Oman are not meditations on the meaning of life but treatises on the study and writing of history. Professor Salvemini distinguishes between history and the "social sciences", using the latter term only because the practitioners of these studies use it. History studies the concrete event or series of events in time in order to "reveal to us our origins"; the social sciences endeavor to disengage from a comparative study of historical events generalized conclusions in order to reveal to us "the laws of social life". The author is chiefly concerned with the question

of how well history and the social sciences can achieve these ends; otherwise stated, whether history and the social sciences are really sciences. In a lucid and lively way he discusses the difficulties that confront the historian and the social scientist, the circumstances which differentiate the study of man's activities from the study of the behavior of the material world—the fact that in the study of man his purposes and values have to be taken into account, that the conclusions of the historian and the social scientist cannot be verified by repeated “experiment”, that the historian and the social scientist are emotionally implicated in the behavior of their subject matter, and so on. He might have added that the subject matter of the social scientist can appropriate the knowledge of the social sciences and as a result of that knowledge modify its behavior, whereas the atom, fortunately for the physicist, cannot acquire a knowledge of physics. As a result of these considerations Professor Salvemini comes to the sensible conclusion that whether history and the social sciences are really sciences depends upon one's definition of science. Between any two sciences, whether natural or social, it is not a question of “yes” or “no” but a question of “more” or “less”—more or less exact and measurable knowledge. The aim of all science (that is to say, knowledge) is to find out what is true as distinct from what is practically useful or aesthetically satisfying or morally justifiable. That the task of finding out what is true is more difficult in one branch of science than another is not a valid reason for abandoning the task.

Professor Oman is not concerned with the social sciences but only with history in the conventional sense of the term. He confesses, ruefully, that history is now taken by many to include all aspects of social life—“a dire blow to the poor Victorian”; but with “the greatest desire to avoid narrow-mindedness” he still “cannot rise to the duty of . . . mastering the history of flint-knapping and Chinese music”. One suspects that Professor Oman is more familiar with these matters than he lets on, but in his book the history he discusses is essentially that which “is now labelled political, military, religious and constitutional history”. The book is a series of topical discussions, by a learned historian who during a long life has been teaching and writing that kind of history, addressed primarily to young men who are preparing to teach and write it. There are chapters on sources and evidence and the testing of authorities, in which the author brings to bear on these questions the accepted rules and the typical examples. Of more general interest are the three chapters on historical perspective—that is to say on world views, such as those of Orosius, Rousseau, and H. G. Wells. Of these Professor Oman has a poor opinion—“the philosophers are the enemies of history, trying to make out of a series of strange and perplexing happenings which we have before us, something logical and tending to an end—evolution, progress, illumination, what you will”. Herein Professor Oman indicates, by implication, his own world view, which is that there isn't any;

or rather, as he says in the preface, his conviction that "history is a series of interesting happenings, often illogical and cataclysmic, not a logical and orderly development from cause to inevitable result". It is very difficult not to have a world view. As Frederick Jackson Turner once said to me: "The question is not whether you have a philosophy of history or not, but whether the one you have is good for anything". There is also an interesting chapter on research and researchers—the futility of Lord Acton's determination to know everything before he wrote anything. Professor Oman thinks that after all the proper object of research is to publish something—as sound and intelligent a contribution to knowledge as the sources and the ability of the researcher permit. This is probably sound advice to young researchers; but I have known a few men who were indefatigable in research (not necessarily with the aid of three by five slips), published little or nothing, and yet managed to be, as teachers, colleagues, and citizens, more worthy of commendation and remembrance than many who have made voluminous contributions to knowledge. The trouble with so many contributions to knowledge is that they are made by scholars who know all the right answers but none of the right questions.

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CARL BECKER.

A Study of History. By ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE, Director of Studies in the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Research Professor of International History in the University of London. Volumes IV, V, and VI. [The Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1939. Pp. xvi, 656; vi, 712; vi, 633. \$23.00.)

HAVING devoted three volumes to the genesis and growth of certain civilizations, Mr. Toynbee now dedicates three volumes to the breakdown and disintegration of civilizations. Sixteen of his twenty-six civilizations, Mr. Toynbee informs us, are dead and buried, and only ten are alive. Among those still alive are Western Society, the Islamic Society, the Hindu Society, and the main body of Far Eastern Society in China. What are the "causes" or signs of breakdowns in civilization?

Any summary of Mr. Toynbee's findings, conclusions, or reflections for the purposes of review is bound to be inadequate. Nor is it easy to discover and set forth the spirit and method of his procedure. His erudition is immense; he ranges far and wide in time and space; he employs literature in many languages; and he indulges in metaphors which elude mere positivists. Some fragments of imaginative metaphysics underlie the structures of his chapters, but it is scarcely possible to make a system of these fragments; nor does it appear that the author has made up his own mind on the point of the ultimate design of the universe about which he is speaking at great length. His erudition and his metaphysics, combined with his metaphorical language and use of analogies, give a peculiar and elusive character to the whole.

There is nothing like it in the English tongue. For a comparison it is necessary to resort to such works as Spengler's *Decline of the West* and Hegel's *Philosophy of History*. Yet Mr. Toynbee's erudition makes Spengler look like a petty sciolist, and his catholicity of thought makes Hegel's dogmatism sound like the scream of a Prussian drill sergeant.

After examining the problem and nature of breakdowns in civilization Mr. Toynbee considers "the causes" under certain heads, including cruel necessity, loss of command over environment (physical and human), failure of self-determination (the mechanical nature of mimesis, the intractability of institutions under impacts of changes, and the nemesis of creativity—the idolization of an ephemeral self, an ephemeral institution, and an ephemeral technique; the suicidalness of militarism; and the intoxication of victory). Volumes V and VI cover disintegrations of civilizations under three heads: the criterion of disintegration (especially schism in the body social or class conflicts and schism in the soul or loss of unity and power); an analysis of disintegration; and standardization through disintegration. To the main body of the text are added elaborate notes, tables, and appendixes.

It is highly doubtful whether any scholar in America, or any other part of the world, could control and check the enormous number of references to personalities, theories, events, and facts scattered through many centuries and over a large part of the earth's surface. Nor will it be easy for readers to discover the meaning of such matters as Mr. Toynbee's handling of contemporary communism in the light of the fate of other religious or philosophico-religious movements that have turned militant, for example, anti-Hellenic Judaism and Zoroastrianism of the Syriac world in the post-Alexandrine age or the militant Muslim-Hindu syncretistic religion of Sikhism (V, 187). Yet a good test of the realism in Mr. Toynbee's comparisons, contrasts, generalizations, and conceptions of causes in history can be made by American scholars who will read his treatment of Virginia and South Carolina in contrast with North Carolina (IV, 289). Why has North Carolina been more creative since 1865 than the two peaks of arrogance? Mr. Toynbee answers: "The former exaltation of Virginia and South Carolina is the veritable cause of their abasement now."

"Happy are those", as was said of old, "who know the causes of things." But in a time when physicists are chary of using the term "cause" even in connection with sequences recognized as deterministic in nature and when metaphysicians, such as Whitehead, are seeking to push mysticism into every area of common sense, it may be well to reserve judgment on Mr. Toynbee's monumental work until the final volumes have appeared. At the present rate of progress the ultimate design of the universe is not likely to be made any clearer, nor the existence of any such design brought any closer to demonstration.

New Milford, Connecticut.

CHARLES A. BEARD.

The March of Mind: A Short History of Science. By F. SHERWOOD TAYLOR.
(New York: Macmillan Company. 1939. Pp. xiv, 320. \$3.00.)

BECAUSE elements of the scientific method have been carried over into fields other than the investigation of natural phenomena, the word science no longer connotes a clearly defined area of intellectual endeavor—*quot homines, tot opiniones*, ranging from the positivism of Comte to the new humanism of Sarton. Here the term is taken to mean “natural science”, in a sense conforming more nearly to the Comtian. Moreover, the interest of the author is that of a scientist rather than a humanist and centers more especially in the final canonical formulations and technological by-products of science than in the inspirations and anticipations from which these have evolved. In view of this predilection the book would appear to be inappropriately titled. The title of the London edition—*A Short History of Science*—indicated more precisely its nature and scope. Within the compass of a few hundred brief pages the several branches and periods in science are presented disjunctively in the best Whewellian tradition. On the other hand, the implications of the phrase *The March of Mind*, with which the New York edition has been embellished, remain unfulfilled. The emphasis throughout rests upon the accumulation of information rather than upon its significance in the progressive development of human culture through the formation of concepts and the rise of a habit of thought.

The first third of the volume is somewhat uneven. In an inadequate sketch of “The Beginnings of Science” no mention is made of the significant pre-Hellenic contributions revealed by Neugebauer’s recent research. In “The Science of Greece” space appropriated by disproportionately long quotations might better have been devoted to a judicious summary and estimate of the relevant subject matter. Again, in the section on “Mediaeval Science” quotations from Aquinas on physics or from Chaucer on medicine and alchemy leave a false impression unless supplemented by reference to such work as that of Thorndike. The last two thirds of the book in general—and the sections on the author’s field of chemistry in particular—represent the more valuable portions. Here, in “The Rise of Modern Science” and “The Age of Science”, a labyrinth of detail is set forth with a clarity and conciseness which result from the author’s sound scientific background. In accuracy also the presentation is commendable although not infallible: Kepler’s second law is not correctly stated; Galileo is regarded as having no predecessors, other than Aristotle, in dynamics; Roemer’s estimate of the velocity of light is given inexactly as “too low by about 40 per cent”; there are a few misprints or errors in dates. Unfortunately the inadequacy of critical evaluation results in an incohesiveness which is accentuated further by the breaking down of each period into some score of aspects, parallel in time but otherwise ostensibly unrelated. Plates and illustrations add notably to the attractiveness of the volume, but the “Suggestions for Further Reading”

have limited value, comprising as they do but half a dozen titles. The index is inconveniently subdivided into an "Index" and a "Subject Index".

While this book makes no pretensions to recondite scholarship, it is not to be confused with so-called popular works on the subject. The exposition is simple and uninspired, but the material is substantial and on the whole should serve well as a convenient epitome of the highlights in the history of elementary science.

Brooklyn College.

CARL B. BOYER.

Wirtschaft und Kultur: Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstag von Alfons Dopsch.
(Baden bei Wien: Rudolf M. Rohrer. 1938. Pp. x, 696. 38 M.)

IN this large Festschrift volume forty-three distinguished historians pay tribute to a great master on his seventieth birthday. One contributor ascribes to the recipient of the honor, Alfons Dopsch, three great achievements. He has helped to free the study of the early Middle Ages from the older, more formalistic treatment; he has helped to destroy the conception of a deep line of division between the ancient world and the Middle Ages, a conception still present in the minds of many when he began his work; he has emphasized the need for a new and more vital study of medieval sources and has given illustration of what such study can accomplish. His work lies along the main lines of modern historical thought, which he has himself in part formed, and his conclusions illuminate many dark corners.

The book covers a great variety of subjects, mostly medieval in character, written by men of different nationalities and in different languages. Five articles are in English, two in French, two in Italian, one in Spanish, and the rest in German, though not of course necessarily written by men of German birth. Of the more important countries, only Russia and Greece are unrepresented. Several papers deal with Slavonic subjects, and Yugoslavs, Poles, and Czechs, together with Hungarians, Finns, and important Scandinavian historians, are amongst the contributors. In addition to European subjects the book contains articles on central Asia, early America, Japan, and even the underworld—by way of Virgil!

A tenuous thread of continuity can be followed through the articles, the greater number being concerned with specific questions of medieval economic and cultural life. Towards the end of the volume imagination goes further afield to treat subjects later in time, more extended in space, and more general and philosophical in nature. The first papers deal with the interrelationship of Rome, the Germans, and the church. Naumann writes on the magical side of the king as God's agent, whose "luck", in the thought of primitive peoples, is necessary for a favorable harvest; Prince Hohenlohe Schillingsfurst writes on the early decentralization of church property and the factor of the good of all in the contemporary understanding of Christian ownership. Erna Patzelt, in a long and important article on the *Kontinuitätsfrage*, elucidates at length Dopsch's position on the nature of the breach, if

it can be so called, between the ancient world and the medieval and the extent to which the Germans were the creatures of classical culture, a many-sided question obviously extremely important for the interpretation of European development. Any notion of a great break is completely discredited. An article by Mr. Lennard presents a different aspect of the same question, dealing with modern opinion as to the rather small extent to which Rome survived directly in early England and the continuity or "evaporation" of its influences among the Celts and Germans. While perhaps minimizing the direct Roman influence, Mr. Lennard lays great stress on the importance of the Augustinian mission. He has interesting remarks, too, on the important matter of the kinds of plows in use.

There follow articles too many and diverse to enumerate individually. Some idea of the diversity of subject can be gained from the following list. Miss Cam writes on burgesses in Cambridge, Schröder on French place names especially from the point of view of the light they throw on assarting and other phases of economic history. Mickwitz writes on early Mediterranean trade; Kötzschke gives an important evaluation of *Flurkarten* and of work like Meitzen's, which he discusses in an article on the *hufe* and the *mansus* in Thuringia and Saxony. Von Törne discusses early Swedish taxes and their relation to early imposts in other countries. Johnsen writes on Norwegian agrarian arrangements, Domanovsky and Homan on early Hungary and St. Stephen, Nabholz on Swiss conditions, Goetz, Leicht, and J. W. Thompson on Italian, and Mojciechowski on early Polish history. Powicke confirms the modern opinion of the important place of the free man in English agrarian life. A long article by Wopfner discusses the development of the two parts of Austria, the Alpine of the west and the Danubian of the east. He shows the important part played by high Alpine passes and the preservation of pure cultural characteristics possible in high Alpine settlements. Zycha writes on the influence of landlordship on the rise of crafts and the like. Huizinga explains somewhat tentatively the chivalric terms *Ruyers* (*ripuarii*) and *Poyers* (*Ponthieu?*). Of the more theoretical and general articles Halecki writes on the history of culture and philosophy, Mitteis continues his work on *Rechtsgeschichte* and *Machtgeschichte*, L'Heritier writes on intellectual co-operation, not too promising a subject at present, while Koht gives interesting suggestions regarding the union of kingdoms in the later Middle Ages. Peterka shows the part played by the University of Prague in the history of Bohemia, a subject in which Princeton has already interested us.

Whatever objectivity historical scholars of the present may be able to preserve, or those of the future to achieve, it will be many years before another book of this inclusive and co-operative character, representing most of the countries of Europe, can be written; and one wonders with sadness how many scholars will be left to pursue the study of the Middle Ages with the technical knowledge and ripe judgment of the writers here represented.

Many of the contributors are already men of maturity; of the younger ones some must be already lost in the cruel and evil destruction sweeping Europe. Men of good will need to take to heart, for some semblance of comfort, Dopsch's view of the continuity of life and civilization even in times of great catastrophe.

Mount Holyoke College.

N. NEILSON.

Histoire économique de la France. Par HENRI SÉE. Publiée avec le concours de ROBERT SCHNERB, agrégé de l'Université. Préface de Armand Rébillon. Tome I, *Le moyen âge et l'ancien régime.* (Paris: Armand Colin. 1939. Pp. xxv, 453. 70 fr.)

THIS book is the first volume of the last and perhaps the most important work of Henri Sée, long professor at the University of Rennes, who died in 1936. Its history is a little unusual. Written in French, it was translated into German and first published in two volumes in 1932 as *Französische Wirtschaftsgeschichte* in the series of economic histories edited and directed by Professor G. Brodnitz. Though widely acclaimed, it remained unavailable in any language but German until this posthumous publication of the work in its original form. Covering the period from the Middle Ages to the French Revolution (the second volume deals with the period from the Revolution to the present), its allocation of space to the various epochs would seem arbitrary to one who did not realize that it appeared first as part of a series. The author gives only twenty-eight pages to the period up to 1300, and only twenty-one to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as against fifty-eight pages to the sixteenth, and more than two hundred to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The explanation for the scant attention paid the earlier periods, in which Professor Sée was greatly interested, lies in the fact that the plan for the Brodnitz series included a separate volume on the Middle Ages. Thus the first chapters of this volume were intended merely as an introduction.

Unlike so many French works of scholarship this book is equipped with voluminous and helpful footnotes, with a bibliography of titles cited, and even with a usable index. In addition, the gaps in the work have been filled and all the chapters brought up to date most ingeniously by M. Robert Schnerb, who prepared the manuscript for publication, by means of critical bibliographies, which include a long introductory essay on the materials for French economic history before the tenth century. The other bibliographical matter added seeks mainly to list and evaluate the works which have come out since 1930. From a bibliographical point of view this volume is immensely useful, since both M. Sée and M. Schnerb were acquainted not only with the relevant work done in France but also that done in Germany, England, the United States, and Italy.

As is to be expected in a book of this sort, M. Sée makes few new contributions to the subject. That he had already done in scores of articles and

books. This is, rather, a work of synthesis in which, with magnificent clarity and concision, the author brought together all that had been done by himself and others. The list of works cited includes over a thousand titles and bears witness to a vast amount of material which M. Sée had to master in order to write such a comprehensive and authoritative volume.

In organization the book may seem a bit trite and formalized, for it deals successively for each period with agriculture, commerce, and industry. But the author did not hesitate to insert at various points connecting and supplementary chapters on such topics as the progress of royal power, the influx of precious metals, the social repercussions of economic phenomena, and the condition of the working and merchant classes. M. Sée never wrote of economic history as an isolated subject. He strove always to relate it to all the various phases of historical development.

In a preface to this volume M. Armand Rébillon, dean of the Faculty of Letters of the University of Rennes, has contributed a laudatory essay on the life and work of M. Sée. But to the guild of historians who are so deeply in his debt this present work will always be its author's finest monument, and they will await eagerly the appearance of the second volume edited in the same reverent manner.

Amherst College.

CHARLES WOOLSEY COLE.

Travaux de la semaine d'histoire du droit normand tenue à Guernesey du 8 au 13 juin 1938, sous la présidence de M. V.-G. Carey, baillif de Guernesey, et de M. Ch. Petit-Dutaillis, président de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres et de l'Institut de France. [Université de Caen, Faculté de droit.] (Caen: Caron et Cie. 1939. Pp. 508.)

FOUR of the twenty papers included in this volume are concerned with medieval institutional history and treat such varied topics as "L'église de Normandie sous Guillaume le Conquérant" (Andrieu-Guitrancourt), "Les trésoriers des églises normandes du xiii^e au xvi^e siècles" (Le Picard), "Le droit populaire" (Maunier), and "Les communes normandes au temps de Philippe-Auguste" (Packard). Nine papers are devoted to various aspects of legal history, whether Norman or French, and seven deal with legal topics specifically involving the Channel Islands. The volume also contains a preface from the pen of the learned dean of the Faculty of Law of the University of Caen, M. Nézard, the various speeches made in connection with the *semaine* both in Guernesey and in Jersey, and a full account of the proceedings at Caen later in the year when honorary degrees were conferred by the university upon the bailiffs of both islands.

The reviewer hesitates to select individual papers for critical comment from such a store of learning; he would much rather stress the gracious twentieth century hospitality of Guernesey, and of Jersey too, so curiously blended upon this occasion at least with the unique charm of thirteenth century Normandy. It is only fair to state, however, that many of these

papers are highly technical in nature: Baudot, "Notes de droit, de jurisprudence et de procédure d'un avocat gisorsien du xviii^e siècle"; Chanteux, "Les moyennes et basses justices dans les coutumiers normands"; Joüon des Longrais, "Le manuscrit de Berlin Hamilton 192 et ses arrêts de l'échiquier"; Jubert, "Note sur la juridiction des manufactures à Caen à la fin du xvii^e siècle"; Mlle. Le Cacheux, "Notes sur l'arbitrage en Normandie au xiv^e siècle"; Le Gros, "Études sur le droit matrimonial de Jersey"; Lemarignier, "La justice sur Guernesey accordée par Robert le Magnifique aux moines du Mont-St-Michel"; Le Patourel, "Un premier exemple de contrat sous le sceau de la baillie de Jersey"; and Regnault, "Le parlement de Rouen et son influence sur la destinée du testament olographe". Others, of equally high caliber, will be of more general interest either because of the subject or because of the method of treatment: Frossard, "Rapports franco-anglais autrefois et aujourd'hui"; Wagner, "Les traits originaux des îles Anglo-Normandes"; Bourde de la Rogerie, "L'occupation de l'île de Serk par les Français en 1549"; and Rivière, "Un magistrat normand, Vauquelin de la Fresnaye". One paper was not read in Guernesey or at Caen and is surely too long: Bridgely, "L'enseignement des 'Professeurs du droit français' à la Faculté de droit de Caen après l'édit de Saint-Germain et la place qu'ils y ont faite au droit normand". Finally, two papers seem to the reviewer to be of quite exceptional quality: Nézard, "L'insécurité juridique en dehors de la coutume"; and Yver, "Les caractères originaux de la coutume normande dans les îles de la Manche".

Smith College.

SIDNEY R. PACKARD.

The Great Chronicle of London (Guildhall Library MS. 3313). Edited by A. H. THOMAS, of the Guildhall Records Office, and I. D. THORNLEY. [Library Committee of the Corporation of the City of London.] (London: George W. Jones. 1938. Pp. lxxvi, 502. For presentation only.)

IN the English-speaking world there will always be an enduring interest in the sources of Shakespeare's historical plays (all merged in Holinshed), but, as is well known, they deserve additional attention because the characteristic civic approach of the London chroniclers counts among the elements that are blended in English political thought and national pride. Holinshed, Hall, and Stow are only the best-known representatives of the group working in the sixteenth century. Since the extensive searches of C. L. Kingsford we know a good deal more about their medieval fore-runners, especially during the fifteenth century. The Camden Society and the Rolls Series have published chronicles of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and the Early English Text Society took a hand in contributing an edition of the "Brut". Even before Kingsford tackled the problem of a predominantly civic historiography, Dr. Busch had put forth a theory of known, but missing, links in the long chain connecting mayoral lists of the days of the twelfth century commune with Elizabethan writers and shrewdly

speculated on a "Great Chronicle" that dated from Henry VII's reign. At long last, shortly before 1914, there was good hope that a newly found manuscript of that chronicle would be printed. It took twenty-five years and tantalizing migration before it reached the Guildhall of London.

The excellent edition of the "Great Chronicle" here under review was executed by the distinguished city archivist and a well-known pupil of A. F. Pollard, and their names vouchsafe all the required qualities of careful collation of texts, minute care in reproduction, and, of course, a thorough introduction that sifts and incorporates the results of their researches.

Their main conclusions may be set forth as follows: Kingsford's hypotheses as to groups of manuscripts and their relations will continue to be viewed with even greater caution than before. The claim of Cotton MS. Vitellius A XVI to represent the greater part of the conjectural Main City Chronicle seems considerably strengthened. It is extremely probable that Robert Fabian was the author of the "Great Chronicle".

Turning to the text itself, we notice with satisfaction that we now have a surprisingly independent account of Edward IV's reign and that while the final years of Henry VII's and the beginning of Henry VIII's reign offer perhaps no divergent views on subjects dealt with in other chronicles, the presentation is wholly original.

Editions like these should encourage studies in the art of history and treatise writing as practiced in London from the thirteenth century and might lead on to a renewed appraisal of municipal historiography.

Chicago.

MARTIN WEINBAUM.

Peterborough Local Administration. Publications of the Northamptonshire Record Society, Volume IX, *Churchwardens' Accounts, 1467-1573, with Supplementary Documents, 1107-1488*; Volume X, *Minutes and Accounts of the Feoffees and Governors of the City Lands with Supplementary Documents*. Edited by W. T. MELLOWS. (Northampton: the Society. 1939; 1937. Pp. cx, 323; xi, 271.)

THE editor of Henry of Pytchley's *Book of Fees* has unrivaled qualifications for maintaining the high standard achieved by the Northamptonshire Record Society under the competent and enthusiastic leadership of Miss Joan Wake. Formerly town clerk, now chapter clerk and treasurer of the cathedral, saturated with knowledge of local material, Mr. Mellows was convinced by his previous attempt to write on the intricate government of Peterborough that the printing of the records of its successive rulers was indispensable. These two volumes, although not the earliest in date (see X, v), are the earliest of the projected series to appear. They contain accounts of churchwardens and of feoffees and governors, appendixes of charters and other documents, a historical sketch (Introduction, Volume IX), and full indexes.

Churchwardens' accounts, despite Cox's classic work, have been strangely

neglected, even the few in print. For Peterborough they begin at a relatively early date and are full of fascinating and varied English and Latin entries to which no summary can do justice: church repairs, washing and mending "Syrplys" and "hawtercloth", binding books with "Rede ledder", payment for "fox heddes", bequests to individual bells, "Hauseling" or "Sacrिंग", expenditures on grease or clappers, or a gown for an old man who tolls the bell for the sick at night in "grevous" weather. Prices and wages occur frequently: *e.g.*, lead, 6*d.* per stone, "wyght cloth", 8*d.* per yard; a carpenter in 1541, 6*d.* per day, the 1515 statutory rate, increased to 8*d.* by the 1560 Northamptonshire assessment and to 2*s.* 3*d.* in 1613 (feoffees' accounts).

At the Reformation, gild and parochial lands were confiscated and became in 1572 the property of fourteen feoffees who were to spend the income on the church, roads (interpreted by Judge Finch to include bridges), and the poor. Because of misuse of funds, necessitating investigations by Commissioners of Pious Uses, the accounts do not begin till 1613; they end in 1659, when feoffees were superseded by governors. The monotony of entries on rents, prices, and wages is relieved by illuminating evidence on the Elizabethan poor law: apprenticing of children, payments to the poor, the sick, the blind; 6*d.* is the amount for a poor man with several children, "almost pyned", but 16*s.* for the gift of a "fat mutton" to the bishop.

The historical sketch describes the powers claimed by the abbot in the 1330 eyre, their division at the dissolution between dean and chapter, and bishop, the latter speedily succeeded by a lay lord paramount. That Mr. Mellows is less clear in analysis than L. B. Gaches or M. Bateson is due partly to his unfamiliarity with other similar jurisdictions and partly to a failure to define accurately "soke" and "liberty". The statements on judicial matters need modification, *e.g.*, on justices—of the peace, of oyer and terminer, of assize (p. xvi). Defects of technique are apparent in Volume IX: lack of uniformity in details like the punctuation after *ibid.* (p. cv); omission of page references to *Calendars* (p. xvi) and of regnal years and parts for manuscript patent rolls (p. 235); numerous mistakes in Latin and also in interpreting dates, *e.g.*, 6 Henry VIII is 1514-15, not 1513-14 (p. 193). It is to be regretted that the society sanctions the reproduction of medieval Latin punctuation and capitalization. But minor defects cannot seriously impair the great value of Mr. Mellows's contribution to our knowledge of an extraordinarily complicated subject.

Mount Holyoke College.

B. H. PUTNAM.

Political Thought: The European Tradition. By J. P. MAYER, in co-operation with R. H. S. CROSSMAN, P. KECSKEMETI, E. KOHN-BRAMSTEDT, C. J. S. SPRIGGE. With an Introduction by R. H. Tawney. (New York: Viking Press. 1939. Pp. xxviii, 485. \$4.00.)

THIS work, as the chief author stresses, is not intended merely as another

history of political thought. Its object is, rather, to reveal those elements in the political thinking of European man over the last two thousand years or more which have had significant and continuous effect in the making of our Western political and social institutions. Indeed, it goes further and tries to show not only the continuous interaction of thought and practice but also to make clear the relationship between political thinking and the general intellectual and cultural milieu in which it occurs.

For purposes of critical analysis the work may be divided into two parts. The first five chapters cover the period from ancient Athens to the seventeenth century and are exclusively the work of J. P. Mayer. This section is extraordinarily learned and reveals a mind packed with Spenglerian erudition. Unfortunately, while Mayer lacks the rashness and even the viciousness so frequently revealed by Spengler, giving us instead a sober and scholarly liberalism, he lacks also the capacity to make clear and effective generalizations. There are, indeed, numerous clever and profound suggestions that will provoke those already learned in the field; but an excess of learning and of polylingual quotations and a failure in organization which leaves the connection of political with other matters to be inferred, without always providing the necessary clues for confident inference, unfortunately destroy much of the potential worth of this part of the book as a revaluation and clarification for troubled times of the most germane factors in our great heritage. Indeed, Mr. Mayer's scholarship contrasts with the clarity of much of the liberal scholarship of the Anglo-Saxon world, of which Tawney's brief introduction to the present work is a fine example. That contrast drives one to ask, with some perturbation, whether the eclipse of liberty in much of Europe is entirely unconnected with a failure on the part of Continental liberal students to convey their insights to the intelligent nonspecialist in a form which he can understand.

The second part of the work, beginning with British political thought from Hobbes on and ending with a discussion of current theories emanating from Soviet Russia, is, on the whole, less heavy. If, however, a variety of authors make for a certain kind of interest on the part of the reader, the lack of unity in their treatment leaves a total impression of a somewhat confused design, the more so since the period covered by each differs, and they vary also in their relative stress on more ancient or more recent history.

Crossman's essay on British political thought is perhaps the best. Brief though it is, it manages to stress the dominant themes in the development of British philosophy and of parliamentary government. It is clear, brilliant, and provocative, though also necessarily rash and at points engagingly perverse. Kohn-Bramstedt gives perhaps too much space in his treatment of French thought to the causes and consequences of the Revolution. Granted the importance of these, one feels here, as in a number of other works on French thought, that the Revolution has come to bulk so large in the con-

sideration of French history that it has tended somewhat to obscure more recent but by no means insignificant developments. Mayer's own treatment of German thought repeats, though less oppressively, the defects of the earlier part of the book, while Sprigge covers so long a period of Italian history in so brief a space that his essay barely scratches the surface. Kecskemeti's essay on American thought is clear and simple but has a somewhat amateurish ring, while at the end undue space is devoted to an excursus into the confusing maze of American foreign policy. Mr. Mayer does the final chapter on Russia, which is a not uninteresting essay on Bolshevik theory preceded by an inadequate analysis of the historical background thereof.

The work closes, quite appropriately, with an epilogue. In it we are told that the basic elements of the European tradition are: "Freedom of thought and doctrine; the dignity of the individual; human responsibility to society and the State" (p. 472). One may believe this or may simply have the will to believe it. In either case, one cannot honestly say that the preceding pages have furnished proof of its undisputable truth. One is left, therefore, with admiration for scholarship, earnestness, and sincerity—and with profound regrets that they have not proved enough for the accomplishment of the task undertaken.

University of Washington.

THOMAS I. COOK.

Die Hegemonie. Von HEINRICH TRIEPEL. (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1938. Pp. xv, 584. 13.50 M.)

TRIEPEL uses the word "hegemony" in the sense of "leadership", a conception which is distinguished from "domination" (*Herrschaft*) in that it is not based on force or compulsion (*Zwang*) but rather on the influence which the leader exerts on the will of his followers, in particular by the peculiar type of authority which is inherent in a strong and "suggestive" personality (Max Weber's *charisma* of the leader). Hence the subtitle, "Ein Buch von führenden Staaten". The author applies this conception to the realm of the interrelations of states, which he considers as organisms capable, like individuals, of exerting influence and of being influenced.

The first part of the book, which may be characterized as sociological, includes an elaborate discussion of the different doctrines associated with the phenomenon of leadership and an analysis of the essence, types, and characteristics of hegemony. The second and longer part is historical; its method, however, is better characterized by what the author calls a "verification" of the results of the first part by means of applying them to historically important cases. Thus the historian may expect not so much to find new material as an interpretation of known historical phenomena in the light of a particular sociological interest. As such the historical survey is of genuine importance. Triepel considers almost every relationship between

states in which "hegemonical" tendencies have played a part. He starts with the broadest and, at the same time, least integrated constellations, such as the medieval community of Christian nations or the European power-constellations in the era of the "balance of power". He then comes to the more limited but also more integrated relations called "Bünde", such as confederacies and federal unions. When dealing with these latter phenomena Triepel, in a certain sense, retraces Hegel's way through "world history". He does this not only by dividing his historical survey into three stages—Oriental, Greek and Roman, and German—but also by considering the Oriental period as the least "free", because in it power was based largely on domination ("brutal subjugation") and to a lesser degree on hegemony proper. On the other hand, Prussia's hegemony is deemed to have been the most idealistic and least "egoistic" in all history.

This pro-Prussian bias, which likewise suggests Hegel, is, however, the only subjective feature in an otherwise objective description of facts and events. Dealing with sociological phases of international relations, a field somewhat neglected by both historians and sociologists, the book will serve as a welcome stimulus to both. It interprets historical facts in a new light and applies social theory to a wide and dynamic field of political phenomena. The study thus adds an outstanding and entirely original work to the author's well-known writings on international law and German public law and politics.

The Institute for Advanced Study.

JOHN H. HERZ.

The Ruling Class (Elementi di scienza politica). By GAETANO MOSCA. Translation by Hannah D. Kahn. Edited and revised, with an Introduction, by Arthur Livingston. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1939. Pp. xli, 514. \$4.50.)

THIS is a belated translation of *Elementi di scienza politica*, published in 1896 (enlarged edition in 1923) by the distinguished scholar and senator, Gaetano Mosca. His main thesis is that in "all societies . . . two classes of people appear—a class that rules and a class that is ruled". In all countries the more numerous class is "directed and controlled by the first, in a manner that is now more or less legal, now more or less arbitrary and violent" (p. 50).

Professor Mosca does not contend that this is an entirely original view. On the contrary, he quotes Saint-Simon, Auguste Comte, Ammon, Novikov, Rensi, Pareto, and Michels. As is well known, the honor of discovering the "elite"—today so imposing and fashionable a word that no respectable vocabulary seems complete without it—was vigorously disputed by the followers of Mosca and Pareto. Pareto's work was translated into English before Mosca's, to be sure, but it appears that the doctrines of Mosca appeared earlier in Italian. It might be said that Mosca discovered the role of the

minority and Pareto christened the child, insofar as any real element of discovery or validity is actually involved.

Many of Mosca's hardest blows are directed at democracy, which in fact he had earlier attacked in his *Teorica dei governi e governo parlamentare* (1884). The democratic premises, he says, are not in the slightest degree justified by the facts. "Political power never has been, and never will be, founded upon the explicit consent of majorities. It always has been, and it always will be, exercised by organized minorities, which . . . impose their supremacy on the multitudes" (p. 326). If the assumption of democracy regarding the consent of the governed is untenable, so in practice the workings of parliamentary institutions leave much to be desired. A direct offshoot of democratic ideology is found in Social Democracy, against which the democratic institutions have difficulty in making a firm stand.

In the end, however, Mosca does not wholly despair of democracy, it seems. If the "liberal principle" can be made to prevail, it is possible to deal with popular government, at least as compared with autocracy or hereditary aristocracy of the older type, at which Mosca directs a sharp and penetrating attack. It would be possible to rescue democracy if the rehabilitation of the European middle class could be established, for without the co-operation of such a group no representative government is possible. Important devices necessary for recovery are freedom of scientific investigation, freedom for criticism of the government, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly and association, and, if possible, limitation of universal suffrage. Above all, however, it is necessary that the ruling class change its attitude and become aware that it is a ruling class with a clear conception of its rights and duties. In every generation there is a "small moral and intellectual aristocracy, which keeps humanity from rotting in the slough of selfishness and material appetites. To such aristocracies the world primarily owes the fact that many nations have been able to rise from barbarism and have never relapsed into it" (p. 493). There should be no lack of such generous souls in the generations that are now arising.

In conclusion it may be pointed out that while Senator Mosca developed "the ruling class" and Senator Pareto "the elite", by the irony of fate Pareto identified the Fascisti with the elite, but Mosca was not able to concur in this conclusion. On the whole, this volume is a study which those who wish to get the background of a modern Western European movement cannot well ignore.

The University of Chicago.

CHARLES E. MERRIAM.

Secret and Urgent: The Story of Codes and Ciphers. By FLETCHER PRATT.
(Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1939. Pp. 282. \$3.75.)

Mr. Pratt's book demonstrates the importance in troubled times of secretly obtained information, secretly conveyed to its proper recipient, and,

conversely, of intercepted and deciphered intelligence. The chapters on Henry IV's effort to break the Habsburg power, Walsingham's deciphering of the secret letters of Mary Queen of Scots' plot, the crushing of the revolt against James II in 1685, the superiority of Union over Confederate cryptographers, the Dreyfus case, and the World War illustrate how intimately dependent on successful enciphering and deciphering has been political and military action.

This history also contains a discussion of criminal codes and of the Bacon *v.* Shakespeare controversy, the Rosetta Stone, and Pepys's Diary. For the amateur cryptographer various frequency tables are included in the notes. An account of this kind is at its best when anecdotes of deciphering are being related, and Mr. Pratt has a good supply which he tells extremely well. His history is fascinating to read.

The author had access to a remarkable private library on ciphers and himself is a student of military history. Further than that his research apparently did not go; no bibliography is appended. One finds no mention, for instance, of the cryptographic work done in England by John Wallis in the seventeenth century. More serious, however, is his entirely inadequate treatment of codes and ciphers in the American Revolution. The author seems to be unaware of E. C. Burnett's article on the types of secret writing used by American agents (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXII, 329-34). Similarly his dismissal of the British intelligence service in one sentence—"A few British dispatches in cipher survive, notably some in connection with Benedict Arnold's treason; they were written in a simple form of word transposition"—must be corrected. More than thirty British dispatches in cipher and code survive in the Sir Henry Clinton Papers at the Clements Library, including those relating to Arnold's treason, none of which is in the form of word transposition. Notice of their existence has several times been published.

Nevertheless, Mr. Pratt's book is important in that it offers for the first time a narrative of the development of secret writing from ancient times to the present—a study that is as interesting for its revelation of increasing human ingenuity as it is for its emphasis on the role played by cryptography in political intrigue and military maneuvering. It is an excellent subject for historical treatment because, as the author points out, the machine is eliminating the cryptanalyst who worked with only his brains and his pencil. The scrambling and unscrambling of messages by special sending and receiving devices offers the newest safeguards in secret communication.

The William L. Clements Library.

HOWARD H. PECKHAM.

East Africa and its Invaders from the Earliest Times to the Death of Seyyid Said in 1856. By R. COUPLAND. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1938. Pp. vi, 584. \$10.00.)

THIS volume by the Beit Professor of Colonial History at Oxford deals

with the history of the East African coast from Somaliland to Portuguese East Africa from the time of the Arab explorations and conquests to the death of Seyyid Said, the famous sultan of Zanzibar, in 1856. It is a monument of painstaking research chiefly from official papers in the British Record Office and the India Office, is fully documented, and is written with the clarity, elegance, and sense of proportion that one expects from Oxford. An adequate index and two maps add to its value.

Limiting himself to invaders from overseas and thus omitting the great Bantu migrations and the riddle of the Zimbabwe ruins, Professor Coupland shows clearly the factors which invited attack from countries with excess populations and less favorable natural resources. Add to this the slave trade and the desire of European powers for spheres of influences for commerce, prestige, and outposts, and we have the reasons for the successive invasions of East Africa by the Arabs, the Portuguese, the French, and the British. The small groups of sedentary Africans living between the coastal mountains and the sea, with their pathetic inability to unite against a common danger, were unable or unwilling to resist, and the parceling of Africa among overseas powers proceeded rapidly.

This volume is especially important in that it stresses with considerable detail the close connection between East Africa and Asia. One of the fears of the whites in East Africa today is that history may repeat itself and, should the European powers exhaust themselves by war, a second invasion of Asiatics take place, not perhaps from Muscat and Arabia but possibly from India and the Far East. The fascinating story of Seyyid Said of Muscat shows that the Asiatics possess qualities and have desires for expansion and for trade not possessed by the native Africans.

The exhaustive treatment of the slave trade between East Africa and South America is particularly important since it shows how actively and on the whole how successfully the English, once having repented of their activity in this nefarious traffic, strove to make atonement through their fleets and through treaties and bargaining with the East African rulers. Incidentally it may be mentioned that American ships were actively engaged in the trade in East Africa and that the refusal of the United States to concede the right of search enabled non-American ships to hoist the Stars and Stripes and bring their wretched cargoes to port.

It will be of interest to American readers to learn that from 1804 onwards many American ships were seen in East African waters. Nathaniel Isaacs, the pioneer of British colonization in Natal, reported that in 1831 he counted in the harbor of Delagoa Bay nine American ships, eight of which were "whalers", and only two British, and that there was some fear among the British settlers in South East Africa that the United States intended to plant an American colony on the coast, a fear which was renewed when the early American missionaries came to Natal in 1834.

Africa has been the last field of activity for the long line of English "adventurers", and one of the most interesting chapters in this fascinating history deals with the exploits of Captain William Fitzwilliam Owen of the Royal Navy, who, to further his appointed task of stamping out the slave trade, actually created what was known as Owen's Protectorate at Mombasa. Indeed, he also annexed Tembe, a district on the shore of Delagoa Bay, and had he been supported in this by the British government, that valuable port, the gateway to the South African gold fields, might have been awarded to Britain at the MacMahon arbitration in 1875. As it was, it was through his efforts that what is now Kenya Colony became a British possession. In this he was aided indirectly by Krapf, Rebmann, and Erhardt, missionaries of the British Church Missionary Society, whose program of control through a "chain of missions" is described.

The volume then shows how the control of East Africa was wrested from the Arabs and placed in the hands of Europeans. How far these Europeans will live up to Professor Coupland's hope and expectation that the East African peoples will be treated no longer "as a multifarious collection of 'living tools' for stronger and luckier folk to use, but as a people or group of peoples as much entitled as any other people to be given a chance of leading their own lives for their own end" remains to be seen. Perhaps the issue of the present war may have a bearing on this question.

Yale University.

CHARLES T. LORAM.

Netherlands India: A Study of Plural Economy. By J. S. FURNIVALL, Late Indian Civil Service. With an Introduction by Jonkheer Mr. A. C. D. DE GRAEFF, Governor-General of Netherlands India, 1926-31. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1939. Pp. xxii, 502. \$8.00.)

AFTER a long period of comparative neglect by writers and students outside Holland, Netherlands India has more recently begun to attract the wider attention to which its size and its economic and political importance entitle it. In Dutch there is a voluminous and highly specialized literature on all phases of the Indies, only a very small part of which has been translated, and it is not the least of the services of Mr. Furnivall that he has digested vast quantities of that literature, both official and unofficial, and made its results available to those who not unjustifiably quail at the prospect of traversing the difficult ground which he has traversed.

The significance of this book, however, is by no means confined to his familiarity with the previous Dutch investigations. Focusing primarily on the economic aspects, the author has succeeded in combining a detailed examination of the history and present position of the Dutch in the Indies with a broad sweep of generalization and hypothesis, which is of value far beyond the particular colonial region with which he is dealing. In con-

sequence the book is of the first importance both for those who are seeking a closer acquaintance with Netherlands India and for those who are concerned with the general question of colonial policy and problems.

In large part the book may be taken as illustration of the theme stated by Mr. Furnivall that "economic motives dominate colonial policy, and that any colonial policy in application is effective only in so far as economic circumstances are favorable". The application of this theme to the history of Netherlands India prior to the latter part of the nineteenth century is a relatively simple matter because the Dutch themselves openly avowed that they were in the colony for what they could get out of it. This held as true in the days of direct government exploitation under the Culture System, the nature and effects of which are here judiciously examined, as it did in the two centuries of rule and exploitation by the company. It becomes a more complex and subtle matter to apply the theme to the period of the last six or seven decades when private capitalist enterprise supplants the bulk of the government's economic activities and liberal and ethical pretensions obscure certain of the basic realities. But it is here that Mr. Furnivall makes his most distinctive contribution in cutting beneath the surface and exposing both the forces that make the wheels go round and their effects on the social and political structure.

As the subtitle of the book indicates, one of the author's constant pre-occupations is to demonstrate the plural nature of the island economy and society, "a society, that is, comprising two or more elements or social orders which live side by side, yet without mingling, in one political unit". The three great unmingled elements are the Indonesians, the Chinese, and the Europeans, all of whom lead lives essentially to themselves, each element having its separate place and function in the total structure. It is the author's contention that in such a society, lacking the common social will to be found in a homogeneous community, the highest common factor of social wants is the economic factor and that hence the organization of a plural society tends to take on the character of a factory torn by internal dissensions rather than of a state organized for the good life of its members. The one point of regret which this reviewer would be inclined to express, apart from occasional minor criticisms, is that, primarily because of the nature of the available materials, so large a share of this book is devoted to an examination of the superimposed European economy and so relatively little to the inner spirit and organization of the native and Chinese life and economy.

Harvard University.

RUPERT EMERSON.

Clippers and Consuls: American Consular and Commercial Relations with Eastern Asia, 1845-1860. By ELDON GRIFFIN. (Ann Arbor: Edwards Brothers. 1938. Pp. xxii, 533. \$10.00. Photo-lithographed from typescript.)

Dr. Griffin has provided in this large volume a fundamental study of the history of Chinese and Japanese relations with the West in general and

the United States in particular during the middle years of the nineteenth century and has made as well an important contribution to the general field of consular and commercial history in modern times. The work is based upon many years of careful examination of source materials mainly to be found in the consular letters available in Washington as well as upon materials drawn from widely scattered places in this country and in the Far East. The care with which these have been compiled, organized, cited, and annotated makes it a model and a guide in methods of research in and presentation of archival material of this type. Approaching the subject from a broad point of view, Dr. Griffin has allowed the documents to tell their full story with the result that the book is an indispensable reference work and guide not only for general historians of the period but also for students of international law, commercial history, and consular activities. The extended critical bibliography forms in itself an excellent guide for future research scholars in the field, particularly through its descriptive listing of the nature and location of the more important available sources.

The first three of the four parts into which the work is divided are a condensation of an original typescript three times as long. Those wishing to have the longer version with its more abundant supply of case materials and more frequent direct quotations from the original documents may secure a microfilm edition of it from the author at a cost of \$15.

The first part of the work covers the period in a general way, the second deals with "Consular Powers and Functions", the third with "Consular Problems", and the fourth surveys the narrative of consular and commercial history in the twelve ports of China (including Hongkong and Macao), Japan, and Eastern Siberia. The appendixes have brought together, in some cases for the first time, valuable reference material including a list of American consular officers in East Asiatic ports in the years 1845-60 and a list of American vessels appearing in the ports of the area in the same period together with information concerning their tonnage, cargoes, masters, etc. Some twenty reproductions of paintings and prints of contemporary personages, ports, and ships, as well as of documents form an important addendum to the text. An exceptionally satisfactory index is provided.

Limited use has been made of primary and secondary materials in Chinese and Japanese, although in the bibliography information is given concerning the nature and availability of such materials. A brief notice (p. 478) concerning a collection of Augustine Heard and Co. papers "found in China" together with "those of a leading British house" needs supplementing. The American firm's papers, which had been stored with Jardine, Matheson and Co. papers in Hongkong, are now at Yale University, while the British firm's collection has been removed to the library of Cambridge University, England.

Columbia University.

CYRUS H. PEAKE.

ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The Cambridge Ancient History. Volume XII, *The Imperial Crisis and Recovery, A. D. 193-324*. Edited by S. A. COOK, F. E. ADCOCK, M. P. CHARLESWORTH, N. H. BAYNES. *Volume of Plates*, V. Prepared by C. T. SELTMAN. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1939. Pp. xxvii, 849; xv, 242. \$10.00; \$4.00.)

WITH this twelfth volume the *Cambridge Ancient History* is brought to its close. In it the narrative is carried to the establishment of the sole rule of Constantine the Great in A.D. 324, and thus, with very slight overlapping, connection is made with the *Cambridge Medieval History*. The completion of the *Cambridge Ancient History* is a landmark in the history of studies devoted to the interpretation of ancient civilization. At the same time this monumental work constitutes a splendid memorial to British scholarly enterprise and to the co-operation between British and foreign scholars as well. In the final volume there is no falling off from the high standards set by its predecessors.

Throughout the whole volume the third century is treated essentially as a period of transition from the pagan principate to the Christian autocracy which succeeded it, or rather, into which it was transformed. This point of view is forcefully presented in the succinct but ably written epilogue, which reiterates the transitional elements in political, cultural, economic, and religious life and stresses particularly the factors which made for the bridging of the gap between pagan culture and Christianity and for the alliance between the empire and the church. When so much has been offered, it may seem ungracious to ask for more, but one could wish for a whole chapter devoted to a summing up of the course of ancient history and to an analysis of the forces which contributed to the rise and the form of ancient civilization as well as of those which caused its transformation into that of medieval times.

The list of the contributors to the present volume reflects the influence of the classical tradition upon British historians, who until recently have regarded the third century with considerable aloofness except in its religious aspects. Of the twenty chapters, twelve come from the pens of foreign writers. The period from the accession of Septimius Severus to the death of Elagabalus is treated by S. N. Miller, who ably defends the military reforms of Septimius against the charge of causing the breakdown of Roman discipline but fails to absolve him from that of starting the decline of morale in the army by his efforts to court its favor. Miller also discounts the effects of the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, declines to venture a definition of the *dediticii*, and holds that no restorations of the text in P. Giessen 40 can have "more than a slight degree of probability". This problem, however, might well have received more detailed treatment in a note. W. Ensslin

ably continues the political narrative to the death of Philip in A.D. 249. Although this epoch is viewed as one of rivalry between senate and army, Ensslin justly decides against any intention to restore real power to the senate under Severus Alexander. Chapter III, "The Barbarian Background" by L. Halphen, deals almost exclusively with conditions in Central Asia. This is followed by an account of the Sassanian Empire by A. Christensen with a section on its wars with Rome to the defeat of Valerian by Ensslin. Two chapters by A. Alföldi cover respectively the invasions of the northern barbarians and the internal history of the empire to A.D. 270. Alföldi has made admirable use of the coins to supplement the meager literary and inscriptional evidence available but seems rather credulous in accepting traditional large numbers for the Germanic hordes (e.g., p. 159). There is also, apparently, some discrepancy between his appraisal of the conduct of Trebonianus Gallus on page 223 and that which he expresses on page 229. Noteworthy is his high estimate of the character of Gallienus. In chapter VII F. Oertel gives a restrained but sound and thorough analysis of the economic life of the empire in the second and third centuries, which is followed by a short chapter on Roman Britain by R. G. Collingwood. The political history of the period A.D. 270 to 311 is presented under the title of "The Imperial Recovery" by H. Mattingly, who, as might be expected, draws heavily upon his familiarity with Roman coinage. He differs with Alföldi on the date of the open breach between Palmyra and Rome, placing it before the death of Claudius (p. 301), whereas the latter holds that it came only after this event (p. 179); but he agrees with him as to the date of the evacuation of Dacia (A.D. 271). Unfortunately, Mattingly still maintains the identity of Domitius Domitianus, the Egyptian rival of Aurelian, with the *corrector* Achilleus (p. 335), which a recently discovered papyrus has shown to be impossible (*Études de papyrologie*, V, 85-93). Two excellent chapters by Ensslin follow, in which he sums up the transition from principate to autocracy with particular reference to the developments of the third century and gives a complete and authoritative discussion of the reforms of Diocletian.

No comprehensive history of the Roman Empire in the third century can afford to slight the great religious problems of the age, and the present work does not fail in this respect. A. D. Nock ably presents the complex development of the pagan cults and offers strong evidence that there was no real orientalizing of life within the empire as a result of the spread of the "mystery religions" from the Near East. Chapters on pagan philosophy and the Christian church and the church in the East are mainly the work of the late Professor F. C. Burkitt, while another on the church in the West is contributed by Hans Leitzmann. The trends in contemporary art are summarized by G. Rodenwaldt; Latin literature, both pagan and Christian, is treated by E. K. Rand, the only American scholar to contribute to this

volume, and Greek literature and philosophy by J. Bidez. Very fittingly the two concluding chapters, on the Great Persecution and Constantine, are by the outstanding British authority, N. H. Baynes, who also appears as one of the editors of this volume. His legal training makes him rightly reject Alföldi's contention that the Christian church was a "lawful corporation" prior to A.D. 311; he places the responsibility for the persecution of A.D. 303 squarely upon Galerius and makes the disagreement between him and Diocletian on this point the immediate reason for the latter's abdication two years later. Baynes also contributes the section on literary authorities in the appendix on sources, while that on coins is by Mattingly.

The fifth volume of plates, well-chosen and well-produced, serves to illustrate both Volumes XI and XII of the text. It embraces almost all material forms of artistic expression—architecture, sculpture, painting, pottery, glass work, and jewelry. The illustrations have been drawn not only from all parts of the empire but also from its neighbors in Europe and Asia who were influenced by, or themselves made contributions to, the form or spirit of the imperial art.

University of Michigan.

A. E. R. BOAK.

Études byzantines d'histoire économique et sociale. Par G. I. BRĂȚIANU, professeur à l'Université de Jassy. (Paris: Paul Geuthner. 1938. Pp. 294. 50 fr.)

As the title of this volume suggests, it does not give us a continuous narrative but rather essays toward an economic history. Certain problems are defined and possible solutions suggested. In an important essay on the chronological divisions of Byzantine history Brătianu rightly objects to the older view of a uniform decline and postulates three main periods: the "New Rome" from Constantine to the advance of Islam; a "Middle Empire", characterized by dictatorship and *étatisme* (641-1204); and the "Declining Empire" (1204-1453). The book is divided into three parts corresponding to these chronological divisions, each part consisting of several essays.

In Part I essays on the regulation of private debts and on the distribution of gold and the economic reasons for the division of the Roman Empire offer rather summary sketches of problems which others have treated in greater detail. The second essay should now be supplemented by Brătianu's article in the *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, XVIII (1939), 252 ff. The Byzantine demes and factions, discussed in a third essay, deserve fuller treatment. Essays on the provisioning of Constantinople and on the financial policy of Nicephorus I are related to the *étatist* "Middle Empire" and are accordingly included in Part II. Part III contains three studies related only in a general way by the author's chronological scheme. The first deals with the Byzantine hyperper and the gold coinage of the Italian republics. The literary sources would seem to confirm Brătianu's thesis that there was a close

connection between the declining value of Byzantine money and the minting of gold coins by Italian cities. It remains for numismatists to make a careful analysis of the coinage for final evidence. A second essay discusses the relations between serfdom and the fisc in Rumania, Russia, Poland, and Byzantium. Here as always the author wisely emphasizes the political and administrative factors in economic history. A final essay on ancient oriental fashions in the late Middle Ages has a tenuous connection with the others. The twenty plates, not the least valuable feature of the book, are well executed and generally relevant to the material under discussion.

By collecting these essays, most of which have been published before, Brătianu has rendered a service to students of Byzantine history. His interpretations are generally sound and always provocative, although sometimes based on insufficient evidence or on the argument from analogy. One of the chief merits of his essays is that the interplay of political and economic factors is clearly shown. Political historians and economists will find much to interest them, and Byzantinists should be stimulated to further research.

University of Washington.

SOLOMON KATZ.

The Medieval Library. By JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON, Sidney Hellman Ehrman Professor of European History, The University of California. [The University of Chicago Studies in Library Science.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1939. Pp. viii, 681. \$5.00.)

THIS attractively printed volume is designed to meet the need for "a single and comprehensive survey of the history of books and libraries in the period of the manuscript". It divides into four parts and includes contributions by some of Professor Thompson's former students. Part I relates to early church and monastic libraries as well as to those of the Carolingian Renaissance and of the British Isles in the Anglo-Saxon period, the last contributed by Dr. Ramona Bressie. Part II treats of libraries of Italy, Germany, France, and England in the high Middle Ages and includes chapters by Dr. S. K. Padover on Byzantine, Jewish, and Muslim libraries, while a chapter on libraries of the Greek monasteries in Southern Italy is by the late Dr. Isabella Stone. Part III has chapters on English, French (by Dr. Geneva Drinkwater), German (by Dr. Padover), and Scandinavian (by Claude H. Christensen) libraries in the closing period of the Middle Ages. The last chapter in this section, "Libraries of the Italian Renaissance", is by Dr. Dorothy Robathan. Part IV includes accounts of the scriptorium (by Dr. Florence Edler de Roover), library administration and the care of books, paper, the book trade and book prices, and a final chapter on the wanderings of manuscripts.

Different chapters reveal interesting variations in points of view. In the chapter on German libraries one sees the manuscript hunting activities of the humanists from the standpoint of the monastic libraries of Germany

and Switzerland which were plundered and robbed of many of their treasures at the time of the Council of Constance. On the other hand, the chapter on libraries of the Italian Renaissance reflects the viewpoint of the humanist interested in retrieving lost classical manuscripts. Variant aspects of the same topic indicate that here is a mass of highly useful material which should prove interesting to the layman and full of pregnant suggestion for the historian of the intellectual aspects of medieval and Renaissance culture.

A few typographical errors and minor criticisms may be pointed out: p. 73, n. 93, the page reference should be to 65, not 165; p. 141, n. 32, the physician's name is Simon Januensis, not *Sannensis*, that is Simon Cordo of Genoa; p. 238, the *Charismian Tables* I judge to be the astronomical tables of Al-Khowarizmi. On p. 274, *Peter de Maharncuria* would be more easily recognizable as Peter de Maricourt or Petrus Peregrinus de Maricourt. At p. 666 in the index the first page reference for Bamberg should be 130, not 103. I have looked in vain for the index reference to St. Gall, pp. 200 f. Among the noted book collectors in medieval Germany it is somewhat surprising to find no mention of Amplonius Ratinck of Erfurt. The 1412 catalogue of the latter's library reveals a very large collection of works of classical authors and scientific writings as well as the usual theological works (W. Schum, *Beschreibendes Verzeichniss der Amplonianischen Handschriften-Sammlung zu Erfurt*, Berlin, 1887, pp. 785-867). According to his last will and testament Pico della Mirandola left his books to the custody of his brother Antonio and not to *San Marco* (p. 581).

Hunter College.

PEARL KIBRE

Mediaeval Studies. Volume I. (New York: published for the Institute of Mediaeval Studies by Sheed and Ward. 1939. Pp. 280. \$5.00.)

THE appearance of this first volume of what promises to be an important series is further proof of the activity of Canadian scholars who are doing much to extend our knowledge of the Middle Ages. A wide range of interests is reflected in this volume, yet the contributions are all in some way connected with ecclesiastical thought, idea, or practice and deal only indirectly with secular matters. With a gracious gesture towards their colleague from the Collège de France, the editors at Toronto here give first place to Étienne Gilson's "Franz Brentano's Interpretation of Mediaeval Philosophy". This brief study shows how Brentano, when completing Möhler's *History of the Church*, developed his own ideas concerning the "doctrine of the four phases of philosophy". In this strange way he generously credited Möhler with his own brilliant theory, the validity of which Gilson demolishes in the second part of his essay. For the reviewer the most significant study in the volume is Father T. P. McLaughlin's "The Teaching of the Canonists on Usury (XII, XIII and XIV Centuries)". Here the major topics considered are the opposition between the canon and civil law, the nature

of usury, cases where something may be received above capital, and the punishment of usurers. The work is thoroughly documented and is to be completed in the next issue of the *Studies*.

Admitting that Saint Ambrose was deeply influenced by the works of Cicero, as were most distinguished writers of the fourth century, Father J. T. Muckle, in his "The *De Officiis Ministrorum* of Saint Ambrose: An Example of the Process of the Christianization of the Latin Language", insists that Ambrose, when employing Ciceronian words and phrases, often gave them a Christian meaning. It is this meaning, not the Ciceronian connotation of the word, that must be understood if a correct interpretation of Ambrose's thought is to be had. An early thirteenth century liturgical text, the *Summa de officiis ecclesiae* of Guy d'Orchelles, is published by Father V. L. Kennedy. Guy, he believes, was probably a pupil of Praepositinus at Paris and wrote his work with ideas of his master in mind. His main sources, however, were the writings of John Belet, Peter Lombard, and Peter Manducator. The Old French life of Saint Barbara contributed by Father A. J. Denomy will interest students of language and medieval hagiography. The French is that of Hainault, and the work itself, which dates not earlier than the late thirteenth century, is additional proof of the popularity of Saint Barbara in the region of northern France. Three minor Old French poems of the fifteenth century are included in this study. About a third of the volume is given over to an edition of Nicholas of Autrecourt's *Exigit ordo executionis* prepared by Father J. R. O'Donnell. Gerald B. Phelan's "Verum sequitur esse rerum" is an essay in the ontology of knowing.

The format is, with one exception, excellent. The paper is of substantial quality, the gatherings well stitched, and the page neatly proportioned. It is a matter of regret, however, that such small type has been used. This has resulted in lines of such length and compactness that reading is made unnecessarily difficult.

Princeton University.

GRAY C. BOYCE.

Histoire du moyen âge. Tome IV¹, *L'Allemagne et l'Italie aux xii^e et xiii^e siècles*. Par ÉDOUARD JORDAN, membre de l'Institut. [Histoire générale, publiée sous la direction de Gustave Glotz.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1939. Pp. xii, 450. 60 fr.)

In accord with the plan of the *Histoire générale*, which reserves economic and intellectual developments for a separate volume (Volume VIII, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XL, 105), the publication here under review is confined to the political history of Germany and Italy from 1125 to 1273. Gains in unity and fullness of treatment only partly atone for such disadvantages as the separation of Italian city politics from economics and of Frederick II from his scholarly entourage. M. Jordan combines with a meticulously detailed chronological narrative a critical synthesis of the findings of recent scholarship.

Some such contributions are his own, for instance, his interpretation of the Concordat of Worms and its subsequent history (pp. 9-10 and *passim*). The account gains by the author's flair for acute pen portraits of personalities great and small and his wide acquaintance with the sources. Quotations and summaries not only of the familiar chroniclers from Otto of Freising to Salimbene but of a host of papal and imperial letters, treaties, and other documents throw added light on contemporary aims and policies. There is an attractive chapter (vii) on the medieval *Drang nach Osten* and the systematic colonization along the Baltic, with some space devoted to the border states, Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary. As to the main theme, the papal-imperial struggle, the author's viewpoint is summed up in this statement: "Un fait est certain: la politique italienne des empereurs, qui a échoué, a été funeste pour l'Allemagne, pour l'Italie, pour l'Église" (p. 66). The Hohenstaufen emperors he divests of all legendary glamor. Even Frederick II, he feels, has been treated by Hampe with too much benevolence and by Kantorowicz as too romantic a figure and has been credited by Haskins with scholarship "un peu exagéré". Repeated emphasis is placed on local self-interest as the sole actuating motive in the kaleidoscopic alliances of the Italian cities. Most interesting are the passages on institutional history: government in the Kingdom of Naples; anticipations of the rise of signories in the communes; obscure stages in the development of rival theories of papacy and empire; descriptions of successive papal and imperial elections, revealing, respectively, the emergence of the two thirds principle in the college of cardinals and the tendency toward definition of the electoral princes.

This reviewer wishes that separate treatment had been accorded to these themes and that the author had seen fit to do more for his readers in broad summary of major developments. There is an index of persons and places and a select bibliography of sources and very few secondary works, supplemented, however, by copious documentation throughout the volume.

The University of Minnesota.

FAITH THOMPSON.

Guglielmo Cassinese, 1190-1192. A cura di MARGARET W. HALL, HILMAR C. KRUEGER, ROBERT L. REYNOLDS, del Dipartimento di Storia dell'Università di Wisconsin. Two volumes. [Documenti e studi per la storia del commercio e del diritto commerciale italiano, Notai Liguri del sec. xii, no. 2.] (Turin: S. Lattes & C. Editori. 1938. Pp. xix, 432; 393. 100 l. for both volumes.)

THE drawing of a valid contract in the age of the crusades commonly involved the services of a notary public, and it is to this fact that we owe much of our knowledge of Mediterranean commerce in the period. As a preliminary step, the notary jotted down in his "register" the essential terms and

details of any proposed agreement. These notes, after the final instrument was engrossed, gained the authority of certified copies, and the state preserved them in its archives as a recourse for litigants should dispute subsequently arise; there many of the registers now remain, a fortunate mine of evidence for historians curious about these early mercantile transactions.

Of registers of this sort Genoa possesses a collection unrivaled in scope and antiquity but until recently sadly inaccessible. The one volume available served only to whet the appetite. It is the oldest register of the series, written by Giovanni Scriba in the years 1155-1164; first published in 1853, it was re-edited in 1935 to mark at once the launching of the *Documenti e studi* series and the inception of an ambitious plan to print a large bulk of notarial documents. The plan has now taken shape, and a group of Italian and American scholars and patrons have undertaken in co-operation to publish all extant Genoese registers of the twelfth century in a series of well over a dozen volumes.

The present edition promises well for the success of the undertaking and does credit to the extraordinary number of authorities and patrons to whom acknowledgment is expressed. The familiar form of the *Documenti e studi* series is well suited to the purposes of these editions. Since the essential object of the plan is to co-ordinate the entire mass of material, it is wise to omit all glossaries and all indexes save one of names and places until a comprehensive volume can summarize references for the whole series. Similarly the introduction refers to the recent study by M. Moresco and G. P. Bognetti for comparison of this register with the others (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLIV, 955). The text is what we should expect from the three editors, who have all before now proved their mastery over material of this type. Close collation with the plates and with photostats kindly supplied by the editors for twenty-six pages selected haphazard proves that the text is reliable; there are occasional small lapses but no conspicuous errors of which correction cannot await the final volume of indexes and corrigenda. In compiling the index, unfortunately, the organization was less efficient; three groups of three pages each of text reveal an average of two or three errors of reference per page, enough to make the index fatally unreliable and to require a thorough overhauling in the final review of the series.

This edition is a weighty addition to our sources for the early history of associations, credit and exchange, and commerce between Genoa, Africa, Syria, and the North, to say nothing of more local concerns, dowries, testaments, sales of real estate. As forerunner of companion volumes it is doubly welcome, for of these documents it is unquestionably true that every increment raises the value of previously available evidence by widening the base upon which statistical and comparative studies may rest.

Huntington Library.

ALLAN EVANS.

La conquête de Constantinople. Par VILLEHARDOUIN. Éditée et traduite par EDMOND FARAL, membre de l'Institut, administrateur du Collège de France. Deux tomes. [Les classiques de l'histoire de France au moyen âge, publiés sous la direction de Louis Halphen et sous les auspices de l'Association Guillaume Budé.] (Paris: Société d'Édition "Les belles lettres". 1938; 1939. Pp. lxxvii, 233; 372. 35 and 40 fr.)

THIS will be welcomed as the definitive edition of Villehardouin that has so long been needed. Scholars have had to use the old edition of Natalis de Wailly, first published in 1872, which, excellent as it was in its time, has now become out of date in many particulars. The edition of Bouchet (1891) marked no real advance over that of De Wailly, and the long introductory volume was notoriously unsound. It goes without saying that the work of M. Faral meets all the standards of present-day scholarship. His basic text is the Oxford manuscript, which he had earlier (in *Romania*, 1938) demonstrated to be superior to the Paris manuscript adopted by De Wailly. The text has a full complement of variant readings. The introduction states briefly all that is known about the life of Villehardouin and summarizes the admirable defense of the chronicler which the author published in the *Revue historique* in 1936. The text is richly furnished with explanatory notes. There are three appendixes to Volume I, dealing with certain details, and an appendix to Volume II on the language and style of the chronicler. The first volume has three useful maps, one giving the places of origin and the fiefs of most of the barons mentioned by Villehardouin, one giving the places in the Greek empire mentioned in the chronicle, and a sketch map of Constantinople in 1204.

It is inevitable that some of M. Faral's judgments should be questioned. It will be felt, perhaps, that he might admit that Villehardouin was capable at times of consciously suppressing uncomfortable facts, like the presence of the papal legate at Venice. In the appendix on the treaty of 1201 M. Faral accepts the familiar view that the Venetians contracted to supply the host with provisions for a year; in fact, the statement of Villehardouin, the terms of the treaty, and the practice of the time all argue for the view that the Venetians agreed to furnish transportation for food and fodder which were to be purchased by the crusaders. The fact that the two best manuscripts give 94,000 instead of the usual 85,000 marks as the price for the hire of the fleet is probably to be explained by the mistake of the copyist of the common source of this group of manuscripts rather than by the elaborate hypothesis presented in this appendix. The note on the amount of the spoils of Constantinople and the terms of the partition between crusaders and Venetians (II, 58) is surely incorrect. These and other points that might be made, however, are mainly matters of opinion. Scholars will agree in general with M. Faral's judgment of Villehardouin and with his sensible atti-

tude toward the diversion problem and will be grateful for the richness of information that accompanies this fine edition of the chronicle.

Ohio State University.

EDGAR H. McNEAL.

The King's Secretary and the Signet Office in the XV Century. By J. OTWAY-RUTHVEN. [Thirlwall Prize Essay, 1937.] (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1939. Pp. 195. \$2.50.)

Miss Otway-Ruthven's book rivals the reconstruction of the Java man. From imperfect fragments she has re-created the beginnings of that masterful Tudor exemplification of *homo sapiens*, the king's secretary. His department was that of the signet, the small seal which from 1377 superseded other small seals. Since the immediate records of the office have disappeared, its fifteenth century history has to be recovered in part from the warrants which it issued to older departments, in part from royal letters which survive locally. The author's search has been thorough, and the results have been set forth lucidly though with a little repetition.

Professor Tout has described the emergence of the signet and the apprehension caused by its use during the two periods of the personal rule of Richard II. But Henry IV and Henry V utilized it scarcely less, especially when they were at war. Yet the office was not firmly enough entrenched to survive the minority of Henry VI. Re-established in 1437, it gained prestige under such able secretaries as Beckington but lapsed again after Henry's illness. Only under Edward IV did its activity become continuous and extensive. The demonstration of this is the important constitutional contribution of the monograph, since it fortifies the thesis that the authoritarian tendencies of Tudor monarchs were largely a continuation of the methods of their predecessors.

Administratively the development of the signet is of interest in its relation to the privy seal. The two secretariats came to represent in a measure the king versus the council. The *secundarius* in the office of the privy seal (not merely "one of the clerks", p. 55) was also clerk of the council; and the first business of the privy seal was to give execution to the acts of the council, although it did, of course, execute warrants under the signet. In 1443 one of the council's regulations provided that a signet warrant "of greet charge" might be referred back to the king, an assertion of authority which the king promptly challenged next year. But Henry's weakness rendered the challenge ineffective, and the full development of the signet had to be postponed until the reign of Edward IV. So scanty does our knowledge of the council then become that it is not clear how far the conflict of the departments continued.

There is a description of the qualifications and duties of the secretary, biographical sketches both of the men who acted as such and of the clerks of

the signet, and lastly an account of the French secretaries, whose emergence was temporary. The monograph is of the type which Tout described as essential to our understanding of early English history, and it has been prepared in a way of which he would approve.

Bryn Mawr College.

H. L. GRAY.

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Prices and Wages in England from the Twelfth to the Nineteenth Century.

By SIR WILLIAM BEVERIDGE, with the collaboration of L. LIEPMANN, F. J. NICHOLAS, M. E. RAYNER, M. WRETTS-SMITH, and others. Volume I, *Price Tables: Mercantile Era*. [Publications of the International Scientific Committee on Price History.] (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1939. Pp. lx, 756. \$12.00.)

TWELVE years ago Sir William Beveridge and Professor Gay drew up a plan for the establishment of an international committee on price history and the initiation of a co-ordinated group of studies covering Austria, England, France, Germany, Holland, and the United States. The plan was approved by the Social Science Research Council, the Rockefeller Foundation provided funds, and during the last five years most of the studies have been completed and published. Now the first English volume is available, but its three successors will probably not appear until peace returns. Thus a magnificent adventure in international intellectual co-operation is halted almost within sight of journey's end.

The English study is to contain, besides the present volume, one on *The Manorial Era, 1150-1550*, one on *Wages, Wheat, and Supplementary Materials*, and one of *Review and Appendices*. Most of the Continental countries have been found to possess little material bearing on the Middle Ages, and their price history can be written only for the centuries since 1500. The English scholars have therefore turned aside from the boundless stores of medieval price records available to them and have given us the volume on the mercantile era first. We can now get a composite picture of British and Continental price history between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries; but apparently we cannot hope for a similar survey of medieval prices.

In the present volume there are no evaluations of results, no generalizations or conclusions. All we have is "a collection of observations of fact", an account of the sources, a description of the methods used in handling them, and a solid array of primary and secondary tables. Unlike Thorold Rogers, the new price historians reject isolated price records and use only series covering the purchase of the same commodity by the same buyer for a period of fifty years or more. This policy excludes personal accounts and commercial documents; it limits the field to the records of such institutions as schools, hospitals, manors, towns, religious bodies, and government depart-

ments. The chief advantage of this restriction is that the figures are comparable, since "it may be presumed as a general rule that transactions recorded year after year in identical terms in the same set of documents are similar in respect of quality, measures, terms of sale, and other internal factors, unless a change is expressly noted in the documents themselves". Yet even then one dare not relax vigilance, and the researchers have kept their eyes open for signs of purchase at artificial prices, for changes from f.o.b. to c.i.f. prices, and for variations in weights or measures; and they have remembered that the lethargy of governments as payers of debts "affected appreciably and variably—according to the amount of delay—the prices which suppliers demanded". Thus the material has been handled with consummate skill and caution, and the results are as reliable as it is possible to make them.

Price series have been extracted from the records of twelve purchasers: Winchester College, Eton College, Westminster School and Abbey, and Charterhouse; hospitals at Sandwich, Greenwich, and Chelsea; the lord steward's department, the lord chamberlain's department, the offices of works, navy victualing, and naval stores. From such varied sources prices have been obtained for almost all kinds of food and drink, and for light, fuel, textiles, building materials, metals, chemicals, etc. The range runs from the pitch, tar, and brimstone bought by the navy, through the necessities for plain living in schools and hospitals, to the artichokes, China oranges, and bottled ale fit to set before a king. Each purchaser is given separate treatment; its history, buying habits, and records are described in great detail; then come the price series for each article it bought. These "Primary Tables" fill 120 pages, while the explanatory material occupies 560 pages. Then follow tables of "Price Relatives", in which each price is expressed as a percentage of the mean price for a basic period. The same basic period—1721-1745—has been adopted for all the countries studied, and the tables make it easy to compare price movements of different articles or places and to compare English trends with those on the Continent.

The authors attempt no such comparisons and frankly tell us that we must either do it for ourselves or await the appearance of Volume IV. A statistically minded seminar might profitably be turned loose on the tables to see what conclusions it could reach; but even a cursory glance will reveal the marked lifting of the price level from about 1550 to 1660 and the slight increase, stability, or actual decline during the next hundred years. Meanwhile the volume is full of good things about the institutions whose buying activities it surveys. We watch the use of the royal right of purveyance before 1660 and the delay in paying the king's grocery and other bills thereafter. We see landlords fighting the rising cost of living after 1550 by making tenants pay part of their rent in goods at prices fixed below the market level. We note the growing use of coal and the increase in the number of men fed by the navy. Finally, we are struck by the "stickiness"

of many prices. The cost of a certain kind of cloth bought by Winchester College remains unchanged from 1612 to 1790, and in many other cases there is no price change for decades. Does this mean that institutions were less affected than private buyers by the short-run movements of prices? Or does it reveal a price stability beyond the wildest dreams of some recent advocates of dollar manipulation? The latter seems the less probable.

Princeton University.

HERBERT HEATON.

English Folk: A Book of Characters. By WALLACE NOTESTEIN. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1938. Pp. xxvii, 328. \$3.50.)

The Diary of Roger Lowe of Ashton-in-Makerfield, Lancashire, 1663-74.

Edited by WILLIAM L. SACHSE. Foreword by PROFESSOR WALLACE NOTESTEIN. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1938. Pp. xi, 139. \$2.50.)

ENGLISH country houses, fields and pastures, villages and towns are the setting for the characters portrayed in the first of these books, a setting important not so much in the sense of the geographic interpretation of history as for the influence of environment upon personality. The English scene is alive through the pen of an author intimate with out-of-the-way places where the current of English life has run unchanged for centuries. In making the acquaintance of these "English Folk" of the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries one feels the insistent impact of the setting upon the individual and recognizes in its continuity a clue to the stability in England's long history.

The diaries and memoirs from which these sketches are drawn are only occasionally well known, as for example that of Parson Woodforde. The writers represent a wide variety of types: the squire, the parson, the laborer, the tailor, lords and ladies and those of low estate. All are depicted as by an intimate friend writing with penetrating understanding, imagination, a kindly eye for weaknesses, and a touch of humor. Although individuality is stressed, and the author is sensitive to the distinctive psychology of each age, certain common traits emerge which would seem to be permanent characteristics of the English temperament: quiet strength, loyalty, courage and tenacity in the face of adverse circumstances, acceptance of existing conditions (there is not a revolutionary in the group), class consciousness (minus hostility and stressing responsibility and self-respect), love of order. The book reinforces the feeling that the visitor senses the real England when he leaves the cities and tramps the springy turf of the countryside and meets the villagers. It does not attempt to account for the background of the whole of modern England. Its most recent subjects belong to the nineteenth century and to classes which had not felt fully the influence of the machine age and the unsettling ideas accompanying it. In spite of glimpses of the city through such eyes as those of Lucy Lyttelton, there is nothing which reveals the antecedents of the throngs of today who go on holiday to packed, noisy

seaside resorts and fret when they are away too long from crowded urban life. If the book is less complete for this fact, it is the more pleasant to read. With its charming style it should appeal to the cultured public as well as to the professed historian, who will value it also for its soundness based on minutely accurate knowledge.

The Diary of Roger Lowe is one of those sources from which *English Folk* has been constructed. Lowe here appears face to face to tell his story in his own quaint way. He is especially interesting to students of history, for he belonged to a little-known class, being a shopkeeping apprentice of the seventeenth century. As he was blessed with wit, observing eyes, and every opportunity to know the life of his Lancashire village and the country round about it, his diary is a valuable addition to the published sources for Restoration England.

Wellesley College.

JUDITH BLOW WILLIAMS.

John Skelton, Laureate. By WILLIAM NELSON. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939. Pp. vi, 266. \$3.00.)

In the past few years several poets and several historians of English literature have turned their attention to John Skelton, sometime poet laureate and a writer of more consequence than has been generally realized. Skelton, a rebel against some of the conventions of his day, was a keen and clever social satirist. Although he wrote in what has seemed to modern taste a barbarous style, his verse was effective, and his satiric shafts made even Cardinal Wolsey quail. In *Colin Clout* Skelton describes his poetic technique in these words:

For though my ryme be ragged,
Tattered and iagged,
Rudely rayne beaten,
Rusty and moughte eaten,
If ye take well therwith,
It hath in it some pyth.

Mr. Nelson has performed a signal service to scholarship by pointing out the "pyth" of Skelton's poetry and by interpreting the man in the light of his own times. As the author states, his book is not a "Life and Works" of Skelton but rather a series of essays on neglected or misunderstood phases of the poet's career. He begins with a useful chapter on the humanistic scholars in the reign of Henry VII and follows it with a discussion of Skelton as one of the learned men of his day. Since the mid-sixteenth century this poet has been treated as a roistering buffoon, a ribald priest who mocked his betters. Mr. Nelson shows conclusively that the rector of Diss was respected in both universities for his scholarship, that he was not only a vigorous but a learned propagandist, and that he had a serious purpose in his satires. Like

Rabelais, he often disguised his ideas in fantastic garb, partly for self-protection, partly because he liked that style, but he always knew what he was about, and his verse shows evidence of conscious and careful craftsmanship.

Mr. Nelson provides able chapters on Skelton's relations with his contemporaries—scholars, clerics, and politicians. His interpretation of the difficult allegory of *Speak Parrot* throws much new light on Skelton's satirical methods and on his quarrel with Wolsey, which finally ended in the poet's recantation and reconciliation with the cardinal, as the author points out. Although Skelton's attack on the power of the prelates did not reach the stage of a doctrine of Erastianism, his bitter invectives against the churchmen and his defense, by contrast, of the king must have had some influence in paving the way for the development of Erastianism later in the reign of Henry VIII.

If Mr. Nelson at times makes Skelton a little more of a humanist than he probably was, it is only a natural reaction against previous misinterpretations of an influential and important writer. No longer will it be possible for an informed person to describe Skelton, the scholar and laureate, as a blustering buffoon.

Huntington Library.

LOUIS B. WRIGHT.

The Londonderry Plantation, 1609-41: The City of London and the Plantation in Ulster. By T. W. MOODY, Lecturer in History in the Queen's University of Belfast. (Belfast: William Mullan and Son. 1939. Pp. 487. 15s.)

THE plantation of Ulster is a subject which has waited long for a competent and unbiased chronicler, but it has not waited in vain. It is not too much to say that Mr. Moody's book is a model of what such a monograph should be, clearly written, well documented, dispassionate, and comprehensive, with ample footnotes and excellent maps and plans, to say nothing of a good bibliography and an adequate index. It is, in short, a thoroughly workmanlike job which might well be taken as an example by all engaged in similar undertakings.

It covers fully the whole subject of the share of London in the plantation of the escheated Ulster counties from the beginning of that enterprise in 1609 to the appeal of the City to parliament against the sentence imposed by the star chamber and the disposal of the property forfeited by the City down to 1641. It really, explicitly or implicitly, does much more than that, for it throws much light on the whole theory and practice of land grants, settlement, and administrative policy at the beginning of the seventeenth century, in which students of English and Irish history will find the answers to many problems of that time. It should be of interest, likewise, to those concerned with the concurrent problems of the settlement of New England, to which the Irish question offers many illuminating comparisons and analogies. For such minute and detailed work Mr. Moody's four hun-

dred pages are not more than enough. Nor can the student of economic and "business" history afford to neglect the story of one of the most complicated and interesting combined commercial, financial, and colonizing ventures ever undertaken by an association of merchants and financiers. Finally the problem of the relation of the crown to the City and its enterprise, and the constitutional and political issues involved, bring the whole matter within the view of English historians in general, while the saga of Sir Thomas Phillips lends a touch of personal interest to the more formal details of the plantation enterprise. But the chief interest and importance of this exhaustive study lies in the light that it throws on the origins of the problem which from that day to this has faced the English government—the status and activities of northern Ireland, whose beginnings as an English dependency are thus ably chronicled.

Cambridge, Massachusetts.

W. C. ABBOTT.

The Thirty Years War. By C. V. WEDGWOOD. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1939. Pp. 544. \$4.50.)

NOTEWORTHY studies by English historians in the field of early modern German history are not numerous. The fact that Miss Wedgwood has written the ablest history of the Thirty Years' War in any language since the publication in 1908 of the late Moritz Ritter's study is an event of major importance. Measure this volume by any standard you please, it will emerge as one of the most brilliant performances of modern English scholarship in the field of German history. It is authoritative and comprehensive, and, unlike Ritter's history, which tapers off after the Peace of Prague, it carries the final phase of the war down to the Peace of Westphalia in four chapters that are among the most admirable of the entire book. Its documentation is exhaustive, although the copious references are often so abbreviated as to be recognizable only to the specialist. Miss Wedgwood's mastery of printed sources and of the enormous literature in German, Swedish, Dutch, Italian, French, and Spanish is so impressive as to give this volume a position in recent historical literature that is unique. All the numerous phases of this complicated war—its constitutional struggles, the Austro-Spanish alliance of 1617, the peculiar mingling of the Counter-Reformation and Habsburg imperialism in the statesmanship of Emperor Ferdinand II, the gyrations of Maximilian of Bavaria and John George of Saxony, of Wallenstein and Gustavus Adolphus, of Richelieu and Bernard of Weimar, the devastation and havoc caused by the war and the slow progress of peace negotiations—are critically and thoroughly explored. Moreover, the book is well written. The perspicuity of its structure as a whole is not the least of the author's numerous achievements. Her economy of phrase and judicious and intelligent exposition command respect even on points where the critical reader may hesitate to accept her interpretation.

Most felicitous of all is the superb discussion of the central figure of the

war, Ferdinand II. In the drastic revision to which Miss Wedgwood subjects the traditional picture of this Habsburger, he appears less as the religious fanatic prepared to sell his soul to the Catholic League and reconquer Germany for the church at whatever cost to imperial prestige than as a formidable statesman who balked the instant the league began to endanger the interests of his dynasty. Critical readers of recent Wallenstein literature will find it difficult to accept without modification the author's contemptuous estimate of Wallenstein's statesmanship during his second generalship. The very fact that his secret negotiations with Saxony, on which Miss Wedgwood remains strangely silent, later crystallized in the Peace of Prague in 1635 would seem to require a higher estimate. But there is not a flaw in her discussion of Cardinal Richelieu and Gustavus Adolphus, and her portrait of Bernard of Weimar, the last German military commander to demand the integrity of German soil, is a masterpiece of keen historical analysis and balanced judgment. No student of the seventeenth century can afford to ignore this admirable volume.

Columbia University.

WALTER L. DORN.

A History of Science, Technology, and Philosophy in the Eighteenth Century. By A. WOLF, Professor and Senator, University of London. [History of Science Library.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1939. Pp. 814. \$8.00.)

THIS comprehensive work is the second of a series of independent but co-ordinated sections of a projected treatise on the whole modern development of positive knowledge, which was announced in the preface of a preceding volume, *A History of Science, Technology, and Philosophy in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, 1935 (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLI, 738). Designed in the first instance to serve the needs of students of science, it is expository rather than analytical and should therefore be judged with reference to this purpose—as an elaborate textbook rather than as an original critique. Thus considered, it must be very favorably criticized.

It serves its purpose well; first, because it is, for the most part, readable and, to any who are not unusually familiar with the subject, interesting; second, because it is richly illustrated by portraits and photographs of apparatus; again, because, by quotations from certain of the classical works of the past and summary digests of others, it excites curiosity which now and then may induce the reader to search further in these and other sources; and, finally, because it includes accounts of scientific developments in fields not usually embraced within the conventional range, such as those of meteorology and geography, instrument design, and, especially, engineering.

It is in this unusual inclusiveness that the originality of the work consists. Throughout, an emphasis upon the practical is apparent. In the history of science proper the commonly accepted categorical divisions of positive

knowledge are adhered to, in their conventional sequence, from the most thoroughly conceptual to the purely empirical—from mathematics to medicine. This basic treatment occupies nineteen chapters, almost five hundred pages or approximately three fifths of the work.

The first chapter is introductory; the exposition proper begins with the second. This, on the development of mathematics, is one of the most readable of all, and although it contains no formulations and only a few isolated symbols it gives, nevertheless, an excellent general idea of the character and tendency of this aspect of scientific progress in the period considered. The chapter on mechanics which follows is less happy in that it does include a few formulations which, without adding to the clearness of the exposition, serve only the questionably useful purpose of reminding the mathematical physicist (who is not the reader addressed) of certain equations understandable by no one else and on this account repellant to unprofessional readers. The attempts in this chapter to explain in fewest words the principle of D'Alembert and that of least action are unsuccessful from overabbreviation. If such formal generalizations were explained at all, their purpose and utility should have been made clear on the basis of a general commentary—which is lacking—on this characteristic feature of eighteenth century physics. Similar criticism applies to the first part of the following chapter, which treats of gravitational astronomy; in the second part of this chapter, on observational astronomy, however, the exposition, more thorough, again becomes eminently readable. The next two chapters (v and vi), on astronomical and marine instruments, fill a gap in the summary English literature on the general subject and are therefore valuable. By those uninterested in the practical aspects of scientific development they may be left unread; by others, who fully realize the necessity of exact measurement in productive scientific research, they will be appreciated. For a correct understanding of the development of positive knowledge as a whole also they are, at least in outline, essential since by this study they bind together the history of pure science and that of technology. If they appear to be overdeveloped here, this can hardly be considered a fault in view of the former neglect of such matters and of the author's expressed purpose of appealing to students of science.

The succeeding chapters on light and sound (vii and viii) are readable and informing, though brief. That on heat introduces the first quotations from and digests of the most important sources and is consequently more interesting. It is, however, fragmentary, since, by omitting the history of thermometry (which is, with questionable judgment, transferred to the chapter on meteorology) the first studies of the thermal transformation of substances are slighted, and the continuity of developments in this field is not presented. There follow a longer and more coherent chapter on electricity and magnetism, the chapter on meteorology previously referred to, a

technical chapter on meteorological instruments, and chapters on chemistry, geology, geography, and the biological sciences in the manner commonly familiar.

This concludes the treatment of pure science. The several chapters on engineering technology follow. These constitute in effect an independent work—on agriculture, textiles, building, transport, power machinery, the steam engine, mining and metallurgy, industrial chemistry, calculating machines, and telegraphy—for commentary on which there is neither space nor need in this brief survey, though because of its novelty this part of the work merits a separate criticism. It should be here remarked, however, that these chapters are particularly useful in that, together with the corresponding chapters in the preceding volume on the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, they supplement a decidedly fragmentary historical literature on these matters, which are, perhaps, of greater interest to the student of the humanities than is the progress of pure science—whether this ought or ought not to be the case.

The work concludes with brief chapters on psychology, the social sciences, and philosophy, in greater part more familiar to humanists than the parts here reviewed and of less value since, though not in the least perfunctory, they have been added, it would seem, only to complete the picture.

One or two remarks on detail may not be out of place. The exposition as a whole would be improved by greater formal consistency, for instance in placing the biographical sketches on those pages where the scientific work of various individuals is first considered, thus avoiding the awkwardness of frequently citing the names of men who are yet to be identified. The references to books placed at the ends of the chapters would be more useful if some brief comment concerning each were included. Finally, the illustrations would be much more useful and might, indeed, stimulate inquiry if memoranda were given concerning their sources.

Columbia University.

FREDERICK BARRY.

Defoe's REVIEW reproduced from the Original Editions. With an Introduction and Bibliographical Notes by ARTHUR WELLESLEY SECORD. Twenty-two volumes. (New York: published for the Facsimile Text Society by the Columbia University Press. 1938. \$88.00.)

DEFOE's *Review* is a turbulent panorama of the Age of Anne when it was not an "age" but an enigmatic present with a Medusa stare. Even with every smudge, every cap. and italic of the original sheets faithfully reproduced, we can recapture only a small part of the suspense with which they were read as they came fresh and inky from the press. For us Marlborough's thundering victories are plans in books; the Peace of Utrecht lies cold in its parchment and seals; we know that the crowns of France and Spain were never to rest on the same brow, that the "exorbitance" of Louis

XIV was nearing its frigid sunset, that the Union with Scotland was to endure, that the Pretender was never to be king, and that neither popery nor dissent was to prevail in England. But these were the issues in terrible suspense which Defoe labored to unriddle during the nine years of the *Review*'s life and the more than thirty years of his own literary career. In the course of those nine years, while he was supplying the entire copy for the *Review* three times a week, there appeared 198 pamphlets, nearly all anonymously, which have been credited to him. His complete works, acknowledged and supposititious, as they have been rounded up in Professor Morgan's *Bibliography of British History, 1700-1715*, reach the astounding total of 374 titles. Even allowing for mistaken attributions and for reworkings of material which had first appeared in the *Review*, the true total must have risen well above 350 items.

Like many other writers who have tried on the cloak of darkness, Defoe found sweet the uses of anonymity. Not only could he be bolder and safer—not too bold and none too safe, as his experience in the pillory demonstrated—but he could assume various disguises, could undermine the enemy's position from a point of vantage well behind his lines, could write a pamphlet the better to refute its argument in another pamphlet, could refer nonchalantly to a periodical of which he was the principal author as "an unexpected Paper without an Author" (XXII, 210), could write for pay and write as he pleased. This slipperiness of Defoe baffled his contemporaries and after the lapse of two centuries continues to baffle. Where among the multiplicity of Defoes that poured from the press and swarmed in at the windows when they were ejected by the door was the real Daniel?

The *Review* is the place to seek him. Though it made an anonymous debut like most of Defoe's works, it was soon identified as his, which excluded some of his more ingenious impersonations. His connection with the government was early suspected. The details of that connection are uncertain. That he was not a regularly paid, regularly instructed hireling is established, not so much by his positive and repeated denials, though these have a ring of sincerity, as by the consistency and integrity of the *Review* as a whole. The relationship was perhaps similar to that which might be found today between the owners of a paper and an editor, whose political principles were in fundamental agreement. Such an equilibrium would be difficult to maintain, but one guesses that Harley was not a meticulous reader of the paper he subsidized. Throughout the *Review* Defoe's loyalties are unaltered and outspoken: William III, the Revolution, the constitution, the queen—emphasis on her parliamentary title—the Hanoverian succession, the Protestant interest, the Union, English commerce. Unaltered and outspoken also his aversions: Jacobites, High Flyers, High Church, Divine Right, universal monarchy, popery, "that Child of the Devil Persecution" (IV, 170), enemies of the Union, piratical printers, workhouses, beggars,

stockjobbers, the bankruptcy law, bribery in elections, profligate clerics, and corrupt magistrates. His closest association with the ministry was in his work for the Union in Scotland and in England—work that was unquestionably congenial to him. His hue and cry after Sacheverell may have owed something to pressure from Godolphin, but Sacheverell as an intolerant Tory was detestable to Defoe, who continued to refer to him with contempt after the Tories came into power (XIX, 33, 90). By contemporaries Defoe was reproached with the *Review's* support of the treaties of Utrecht, but a careful perusal of the numbers in which a peace settlement is discussed takes much of the edge off that reproach. For Defoe, as for most thoughtful Englishmen, the European situation had been drastically altered by the death of the emperor and the accession of Charles III, the Allies' candidate for Spain, to the imperial throne. To continue the war, of which Defoe—again like most Englishmen—was heartily tired, for the sake of substituting Habsburg pretensions to the hegemony of Europe for French pretensions would have been a foolish sacrifice to consistency. As to the commercial treaty, Defoe had long advocated the resumption of trade with France (II, 337 ff.; X, 218), coupled, to be sure, with protectionist measures in behalf of English manufactures. He refused to fall in with St. John's abuse of the Dutch and insisted that the safety of Protestantism on the Continent depended on the maintenance of England's alliance with the States General (XXI, 573 ff., 579).

For polemical writing—the *Review* consists of polemics—Defoe was ideally equipped. In him breadth and facility amounted to genius. Too hasty to be profound, he had the journalist's lightning penetration. He had also unshakable commonsense, an armory of ironic humor, and capacities for sympathy and indignation which, however, never outranged his political and religious convictions. Mr. Basil Willey's illuminating observation that in the seventeenth century men were at home in two worlds, the old world of their faith and the new world of their science, applies to Defoe. To him creation, fall, redemption, judgment, and divine interposition in human affairs were the vast commonplaces of man's estate. God keeps an astonishingly close watch on English politics, with an omniscience kindly shared with Defoe. Some of Defoe's allegories recall Bunyan (*e.g.*, XV, 301; XIX, 153); sometimes he wrote of God, Nature, and Reason like a *philosophe* of the period he did not live to see (*e.g.*, XV, 249). Though he prided himself on his knowledge of commerce and industry, his economic views were colored by nationalist and mercantilist predilections and by sharp personal experiences. An economist of today would be alienated, one fears, by Defoe's personification of public credit as "a coy lass" (VI, 17; XIV, 123).

For making readily accessible one of the rarest and most inaccessible of Defoe's works, one, moreover, so rich in body and bouquet, students of the man and his times owe a tribute of gratitude to the Facsimile Text Society,

which undertook the ambitious and costly project of reproduction, to the "pushing committee", and to Professor Secord, who has carried to completion the arduous editorial and bibliographical labors begun by the late C. N. Greenough. There are only two things one may find to deprecate in this handsome edition. One is the price, which will put it beyond the budgetary reach of many would-be purchasers, including the less opulent libraries. The other is the absence of an index, which one hopes may yet be supplied.

Vassar College.

VIOLET BARBOUR.

La cour de Léopold, duc de Lorraine et de Bar, 1698-1729. Par ZOLTAN HARSANY. Préface de M. André Gain. [Annales de l'Est, publiées par la Faculté des lettres de l'Université de Nancy.] (Nancy: Imprimerie V. Idoux. 1939. Pp. xxi, 585.)

Cayer pour laisser à mon successeur . . . Mémoire sur le Duché de Lorraine rédigé vers 1715 par le Duc Léopold. Texte publié et commenté par ZOLTAN HARSANY. [Ibid.] (Nancy: Éditions Berger-Levrault. 1938. Pp. 98.)

Most of what is important in the first of these books is well summarized in its preface, where Professor Gain expertly indicates the background, principal aspects, and general significance of the court of Duke Leopold. The following five hundred or more pages of text contain documentation and elaboration of detail. Despite the fact that Leopold, next to the last sovereign of independent Lorraine, temporarily restored a somewhat indifferent dynasty, undertook some reforms, and suggested the role of precursor to enlightened despots, there is not a great deal that is outstanding to be said about him, his reign, or his court. That in his conspicuous spending and in his architecture, as well as in his amours, he resembles a miniature imitation of Louis XIV signifies little of uncommon import and yields a modicum of dramatic or of human interest.

An obviously careful and thorough research is the basis of the study. Archives of Paris, Vienna, Nancy, Bar-le-Duc, and Saint Dié have been well exploited. The results are presented at length and accurately if not brilliantly. Emphasis is laid entirely on the sovereign, his family, the ducal residences, and the *externals* of the life, services, and decline of the court. Though highly detailed, the exposition cannot be said to restore with exciting vividness the life and color of the seventeenth century. The author has made an impressive collection of duly authenticated items of information: an acceptable *quarry* from which subsequent investigators may economically and conveniently extract materials. Unusual among these materials is the comparatively extensive account usefully and painstakingly compiled of the numerous individual architects and artisans who worked on the ducal residences. Less unusual, but doubtless valuable, evidence of the customs and

standards of living among seventeenth century petty princes are the comprehensive descriptions of palace decorations, furniture, tableware, linen, uniforms, insignia, and clothing. Services and ceremonies are explained; meals, diversions, and personal relations recounted. But withal, it does not seem that the author succeeds in re-creating an atmosphere or in reintegrating the historical elements of the particular time and place under consideration.

Why not? Perhaps because he has not even attempted to deal with the politics of the court, domestic or foreign, or with the position and influence of the court as the head and center of a land and its people. Devoting his time and effort to an adequate investigation of an intentionally limited subject, he has not explored those more complex fields which alone could give vitality and serious meaning to his theme. Without these, the picture is confined to things and to a certain pettiness of interest possibly appropriate for this little would-be Versailles. But the play becomes a Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark.

The *Cayer*, published earlier though in the manner of a supplement, consists really of three cahiers selected from a group of twelve written by Duke Leopold. An excellent, workmanlike introduction discusses the manuscript and its history. The three selected cahiers deal primarily with the revenues of Lorraine, the means of increasing these revenues, and also with their expenditure. There follows a description of Lorraine particularly concerned with boundaries and products and, finally, a very brief reference to foreign policy involving especially some desirable territorial annexations.

Amherst College.

LAURENCE B. PACKARD.

The Anglo-Russian Commercial Treaty of 1734. By DOUGLAS K. READING, Instructor in History, Colgate University. [Yale Historical Publications.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1938. Pp. ix, 337. \$3.00.)

MR. READING has written a valuable monograph on one of the phases of Anglo-Russian relations in the eighteenth century. While not so comprehensive in scope as Dietrich Gerhard's *England und Aufstieg Russlands* and at times tending to be perhaps too technical, his study includes enough of the diplomatic and economic background to give the treaty of 1734 a proper historical setting. It was the first formal commercial agreement that Russia made with a Western power, and as such it is of considerable interest to the historian. Mr. Reading's account of its conclusion and his analysis of its provisions make a substantial contribution to a fuller understanding both of the nature of Russia's relations with England and of Russian economic life at the time. The author makes it abundantly clear that the initiative remained throughout with the English while the Russians rather reluctantly permitted themselves to be drawn into the agreement. In view of the somewhat one-sided result of the negotiations, with most of the advantages on

the English side, such an attitude on the part of the Russian diplomats is understandable. Incidentally, I fully agree with Mr. Reading's estimate of Ostermann's ability, which, as he justly observes, has not been adequately appreciated by the majority of Russian historians.

For the purposes of his analysis of the contents of the treaty the author divides the English objectives into two categories: those aiming at the extension of English exports and exploitation thereof of the Russian market (he calls them "aggressive") and those dealing with the establishment of normal conditions for foreign trade in Russia. In both respects the English were quite successful. They obtained from Russia exceptional privileges with regard to transit trade with Persia and also substantial tariff reductions on English cloth, which eventually permitted them to strangle Prussian competition in Russia. The other group of articles in the treaty had for their purpose to "remove English commerce in Russia from exposure to abuses of an arbitrary officialdom". These Mr. Reading discusses in great detail, and the picture he gives of the Russian bureaucratic and commercial mores seems to justify his characterization of them as backward. I wonder, however, whether he is on an equally firm ground when he extends the same notion to Russia's industrial development of the period. Here, it seems to me, he tends to exaggerate the backwardness and is somewhat at variance with the recent research in the field which points in the opposite direction. At any rate, it certainly is not correct to say that prior to the accession of Peter there was only one iron foundry in Russia (p. 24).

To the bibliographical references dealing with the diplomatic background there should be added Maurice Bruce's article on "Jacobite Relations with Peter the Great" in the *Slavonic Review*, Volume XIV. In the transcription of Russian names and words I have found a few minor mistakes.

Harvard University.

MICHAEL KARPOVICH.

Clive of Plassey: A Biography. By A. MERVYN DAVIES. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1939. Pp. x, 522. \$3.75.)

Traders' Dream: The Romance of the East India Company. By R. H. MOTTRAM. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1939. Pp. xii, 322. \$3.00.)

Mr. Mervyn Davies has now supplemented his admirable biography of Hastings with an equally admirable biography of Clive. As in the former work, he makes no claim to have used a substantial amount of new material. What he has done is to analyze all the available information about Clive in order to present a thorough and vivid account of his career, which more than achieves the aim of making the same book "appeal both to the general reader and to the historical student". This biography will supplant the older works on Clive beside the armchair as well as in the classroom. In writing it, Mr. Davies has brought Clive down to earth. If there is any broad criticism

to be made, it is that he has not brought his hero far enough down to earth. So far as can be judged from these pages, Mr. Davies has not soaked in the India of Clive to the same extent that he did in the India of Warren Hastings. If he had done so, his new interpretation of Clive might have come even closer to reality.

After visiting many of the sites of Clive's exploits in the field and at the council table, this reviewer feels certain that Clive's contemporaries were often guilty of exaggeration and misrepresentation in an effort to cast a spell of romance over their doings for the benefit of readers in England. Sumptuous palaces or great fortresses comparable to those of Vauban were not characteristic of the Carnatic or Bengal in the mid-eighteenth century. Mr. Davies has not sufficiently torn away this veil of exaggeration. More detail as to the actual conditions of Indian campaigning and the payment of Indian mercenary armies would be helpful in giving the reader a clearer picture of Clive's victories and of the circumstances which made treachery more important than bullets. One of the excellences of the book is the emphasis placed on the struggle after Plassey between Clive representing Empire and Lawrence Sullivan representing Trade, but it is surely misleading to identify Clive and his group with "land" or the landed interest in the eighteenth century sense. The real antithesis is between those who stood to profit from the extension of empire in India and those who had been accustomed to profiting solely through trade, the former group being drawn from every class of English society and the latter consisting of the London merchants, shipowners, and sea captains dominant in the company's courts of proprietors and directors. Mr. Davies has done a real service in rescuing Lawrence Sullivan from the obscurity into which he had undeservedly fallen.

In dealing with Clive's second administration in Bengal, hitherto mis-handled by more than one hero-worshiping biographer, Mr. Davies has done well to stress Clive's weaknesses and inconsistencies, but he may have misinterpreted the motives behind Clive's selfishness. It is not entirely a matter of the pot calling the kettle black, of Clive, his own hands soiled by the immediate aftermath of Plassey, lashing out at men who were no better than he for following his example a few years later. It may well be that Clive, with his keen awareness of Indian realities, wished to prevent Europeans from inadvertently killing the goose that was laying the golden eggs. The sort of thing which Clive and his friends did after Plassey could not be done often with impunity in a short space of years. In assuming the role of reformer, Clive was not only protecting himself but protecting those who came after him from the consequences of their own unbridled ambition. A somewhat fuller account of the confusion in Bengal in the interval between Clive's two administrations would have helped the reader's understanding of the second. It is surely a mistake to speak of the directors of the East India Company as "inoculated with rigid free trade principles soon to be canonized by the publication of Adam Smith's work *The Wealth of*

Nations" in the early 1770's (p. 459). In this, as well as in other parts of the book, the printing of dates in full would assist the general reader. The outstanding charm of Clive as here presented is his emergence as a human being full of weaknesses, idiosyncracies, and inconsistencies, who is nonetheless entitled to be called great.

In *Traders' Dream* Mr. Mottram has made a gallant attempt to compress the entire history of the East India Company into three hundred pages. The book shows no evidence of the author's having read widely either in the secondary authorities or in the sources save for the published series of court minutes. The result is a very uneven and somewhat misleading volume which will be of slight value to serious students of the subject.

Marblehead, Massachusetts.

HOLDEN FURBER.

Lord North. By W. BARING PEMBERTON. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1938. Pp. xii, 445. \$6.00.)

MR. Pemberton, the author of a life of Carteret, "the brilliant failure of the eighteenth century", has now undertaken a reappraisal of Lord North, "Premier of an England in Eclipse". His justification is that North is known to us chiefly through the Whig and Radical historians and, consequently, that previous estimates have been either hostile or coldly neutral. Curiously enough the author gives no consideration to the two-volume biography by the late Reginald Lucas, published in 1913, nor does he list the work in his bibliography, which, by the way, contains no reference to the third volume of Edward Channing's *History of the United States*. Otherwise Mr. Pemberton has read widely and intelligently, chiefly in general histories, special studies, and printed sources. After all is said, his aim turns out to be a modest one: namely "to show that while North was not a great statesman, he is deserving of revaluation", for owing to his coalition with Charles James Fox he was afterwards denounced by the Tories as well as the anti-Tories. While Mr. Pemberton throws a few new lights on the man and the period, his estimate does not differ materially from that of the sympathetic but discriminating Lucas, though it exhibits an intemperateness of language and an uncharitableness toward the opposition, both British and American, in which his predecessor does not indulge. Nevertheless, he does not distort the facts and leaves in the mind of the reader a real sympathy for the unfortunate premier confronted with problems with which he lacked the strength to cope. He even makes out something of a case for the generally condemned coalition. Both biographers in their respective conclusions quote the fairly well-known estimates of Burke and Gibbon. Since Mr. Pemberton emphasizes Lord North's skill as a fashioner of budgets, it is a pity that he chose, intentionally, to deal with his financial policy so briefly and makes no attempt to present an extensive well-documented life—still a possible desideratum.

A few statements may be open to question. Although the date of Napo-

leon's birth (p. 90) is disputed, the evidence would seem to favor 1769 rather than 1768. Some ten years ago (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIV, 47-54) Miss Gerda C. Richards showed that the prevalent view as to Pitt's creation of peers would have to be modified. *De Tallagio non Concedendo* was not a statute of Edward III (p. 191). Recent researches have shown that Clive's death (p. 260) may have been accidental, due to an overdose of opiate. Finally the author should give more frequently the year together with the month. While the book is irritating, in places, it is stimulating reading: a vigorous presentation of one side of the case.

The University of Michigan.

ARTHUR LYON CROSS.

Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations . . . preserved in the Public Record Office. January, 1768, to December, 1775; January, 1776, to May, 1782. [Issued by the Authority of the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury under the Direction of the Master of the Rolls.] (London: H. M. Stationery Office; New York: British Library of Information. 1937; 1938. Pp. viii, 499; x, 511. \$8.40 each.)

THESE two volumes carry the minutes of the board of trade from approximately the first appointment of a separate secretary of state for the colonies to the final dissolution of the board itself. The period is, to say the least, important in the history of the colonies, but to such an extent had the board been stripped of its powers that the journal for these years is generally less valuable than at any other time in its entire length. During the critical years leading to the Revolution the board was not even asked its opinion on the important questions of colonial policy decided by the ministry and parliament. Its most extensive business was the hearing of claims of ex-soldiers and others for grants of American land. During the war years the journal makes almost no direct mention of the conflict, the board having as its sole warlike responsibility the consideration of licenses for the export of military stores from the kingdom. The fullest and most detailed entries have to do not with American problems but with hearings on African trade. The text of the journal supports the conclusion that the board was abolished in 1782 not so much because it was inefficient as because it had no longer any useful purpose to serve.

The appearance of these volumes brings to an end the separate publication of the journal. From 1696 through March, 1704, it was included in abbreviated form in the volumes of the *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series*. Then in 1920 began a separate series, which has now reproduced in fourteen volumes the unabridged journal from 1704 to 1782. The change was originally explained as being intended to lighten the *Calendar* and so accelerate its progress and to provide a means of access to the papers not yet calendared. Partly, perhaps, because of the increased amount of material to be calendared as the period advances, the first goal has not been very

conspicuously attained—the *Calendar* is now down only through 1733—but this very fact has increased the importance of the second objective, for at the present rate the colonial papers will not be completely calendared to the end of the American Revolution for another thirty-five or forty years. But apart from these considerations, the journal has eminently justified its separate and complete printing as a document important in its own right. Scholars interested in British colonial administration or in some aspects of eighteenth century commerce have found the full journal not only a useful guide to other documents but also a source of much valuable material in the form of minutes of hearings and transcripts of oral evidence presented to the board. For the earliest years the abstracts included in the *Calendars* are too brief to be very helpful in the same way. It would be a fine thing if the journal for 1696-1704 could now be reproduced in the same full text which has at last been so usefully completed for the largest portion of the board of trade's history.

Yale University.

LEONARD W. LABAREE.

The Life and Death of Louis XVI. By SAUL K. PADOVER, Formerly Research Associate in History, University of California. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1939. Pp. xiv, 373. \$3.75.)

To collect data for this book Dr. Padover visited the libraries and archives of London, Paris, and Vienna. The appended bibliography is ample evidence that he has, when he elects to employ it, the technique of a scholar. Each item listed is followed by a critical note gauging its reliability as a source of information. With materials thus evaluated and labeled, he was in position to write a biography of Louis XVI which would make glad the heart of the professional historian. But it is evident that Dr. Padover is not much interested in pleasing you and me. He has in view that person out there beyond the walls of the academic cloister who has a flair for general culture and is willing to buy books to satisfy it. The *Life* which he gives us is not the work of a historian who keeps his imagination sufficiently in restraint. It is, rather, the work of a scenario writer who makes his characters walk across the stage with startled gestures, shrugging shoulders, and accusing fingers. The author has an uncanny understanding of motives; he knows when his characters were shocked, when they glared with hatred, when they spoke with harsh or trembling voices. "Louis sat down, quietly listened to the list of his crimes. In front of him sat his cousin the Duke of Orleans, now Philip Egalité, insolently staring at the prisoner through a lorgnette." The picture is vivid, but it makes the critical historian squirm.

Dr. Padover knows his French Revolution in its broad outlines. Try as he would, the reviewer could not trap him in a major error. But in the twilight zone where outlines grow dim scores of minor errors and near

errors were found lurking. For Commander Lambeth on page 177 read the Prince de Lambesc. Roland (p. 231) was not a deputy of the Constituent Assembly. Roederer, who bustles about the stage in the scene depicting the escape of the royal family from the Tuileries on August 10, 1792, may have worn a tricolor sash, as the author avers, but he certainly was not a deputy of the Legislative Assembly or a municipal officer (pp. 272-74).

To him who reads primarily for entertainment and is not critical of what he reads the reviewer highly recommends this book. It is delightfully written, beautifully illustrated, and in the early chapters artfully pornographic. At the end of the drama, "The executioner leaned over the basket and firmly picked up the severed head."

The University of North Carolina.

MITCHELL B. GARRETT.

The Public Life of George Chalmers. By GRACE AMELIA COCKROFT. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1939. Pp. 233. \$2.75.)

THIS modest volume is a valuable contribution to the knowledge of an important period of history. The bibliography alone would entitle it to consideration. In addition to forty-seven published works of George Chalmers there are also listed extensive collections of his manuscript papers and letters, a surprising number of which are in America. Archive materials are carefully classified, many contemporary and later publications listed, and notations and citations skillfully used. There is an index and a frontispiece reproducing a portrait engraved by R. Cooper from a small water color painted in 1808 by Henry Edridge that hangs in the National Portrait Gallery.

In using this multitudinous material the author has shown rare discernment; there is judicious evaluation without overemphasis. Since there are no diaries and not much intimate correspondence, it is chiefly the externals of Chalmers's life that are dealt with, the institutions with which he was connected, his work, the reactions to it of his contemporaries, and his relations to many of the leading movements of his time.

The first chapter deals with his family background in Scotland, his training there in law and economics, and his ten years as a colonist in Maryland, where his promising career was ruined by the coming of the American Revolution. The second takes him to London as an embittered refugee who struggles another ten years to find a place for himself, engages industriously in pamphleteering, and establishes connections with Charles Jenkinson. "Chief Clerk at the Office for Trade", 1786-1825, "Colonial Agent of the Bahamas", 1792-1825, and "Antiquary, Editor, and Author" are chapters that continue the portrayal of a life that was never great, yet illustrates the influence of the second-rate man. As chief clerk of the newly organized board of trade his close connection for eighteen years with its first president,

Charles Jenkinson, Baron Hawkesbury and first Earl of Liverpool, gave the two men a strategic position in regard to traditional policies that were beginning to feel the pulsing of a changing world. Both were hardworking and able but had their vision bounded by a British Empire supported by an invincible navy; both thwarted Pitt's youthful desires to free trade from its ancient restrictions, loathed the Jacobin and the abolitionist, feared the rising naval and commercial power of the United States, and upheld the theory of inalienable citizenship, with the right of search of foreign vessels.

After the death of Liverpool in 1804 the influence of Chalmers declined at the board of trade. Though his accounts and records continued to be kept meticulously until his death, his opinions were no longer shared by presidents who were looking toward a new era. Long a man of letters, literature was his absorbing interest during later years, various fields occupying his attention; in that of Scottish antiquities he became the leading authority of his time. Assiduous research and a keen sense of historical accuracy made his voluminous writings valuable, though dogmatism, bitterness, and vindictiveness often warped his judgment. With the clarity and scholarly poise that distinguish her work, the author wisely concludes that in spite of useful achievements in many and diverse roles, Chalmers did not have a noble or magnanimous spirit.

Philadelphia.

ANNA LANE LINGELBACH.

The Law of Treaties: British Practice and Opinions. By ARNOLD DUNCAN McNAIR. [Columbia University Council for Research in the Social Sciences.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1938. Pp. xxix, 578. \$7.50.)

SEVERAL years ago the Department of Public Law and Jurisprudence of Columbia University issued a memorandum in which the need for the publication of diplomatic correspondence and foreign office memoranda on questions of international law was pointed out. These documents, "which mirror governmental practice—the very fountain head of international law" (p. 553), remain for the most part inaccessible to students and practitioners of the law of nations, a fact which leads to difficulty in ascertaining what positive international law, as tested by the practice of states, actually prescribes. "This difficulty", the memorandum asserted, "foment controversy between States, interferes with the efficacy of diplomatic negotiations, and baffles the Courts."

In order partially to fill this gap in the literature of international law it was proposed that in several countries legal experts should be charged with the task of collecting and publishing, in close co-operation with their respective foreign offices, the documentation on certain selected subjects of international law. The present volume is the first result of this proposal. No one could qualify more highly than Professor McNair as "an expert in international law in his own country and enjoying the confidence of its foreign

office" (p. 554). His recognized achievements in the field of international law in general and his special competence in the law of treaties naturally determined his selection as the editor of the volume under review.

In his preface Professor McNair states that his aim is to describe "the practice of the United Kingdom in the matter of Treaties, their Conclusion, their Interpretation, the Scope of their Operation, their Termination and Modification, and the law which is relevant to these topics so far as it can be gathered from United Kingdom sources" (p. vii). The method employed is to introduce each topic under consideration with a brief statement of the principles of law which the editor believes to result from the documents appended. The documentation consists almost wholly of memoranda of the law officers of the crown and decisions of British courts, with but few references to international decisions and doctrinal literature. Although Professor McNair in general confines himself to a statement of British legal conceptions, he does not hesitate to point out any disparity between these views and the principles which he deems to be prescribed by international law. The purpose of the volume, as he carefully states, is not to furnish a complete and critical treatise on the international law of treaties but merely to provide a source book, with adequate commentary, upon British practice insofar as it can be described on the basis of a study of the available official documents.

All students of international law will hope that this excellent work is the forerunner of a series constructed on the same model, for only such intensive studies of national practice can furnish a sound foundation for a truly positive treatment of international legal questions.

University of Michigan.

LAWRENCE PREUSS.

The Zollverein. By W. O. HENDERSON, University College, Hull. [Cambridge Studies in Economic History, General Editor, J. H. Clapham.] (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1939. Pp. xi, 375. \$4.50.)

THIS timely study of one important sequence in the unification of Germany forms the first connected and documented account of the Zollverein in English. It was hardly to be expected that anything new could be said about the composition, structure, or attendant theoretical conflicts of Zollverein history. But by diligent collation of German and other monographs, recourse to archives in Vienna and London, and attention to the background of German economic changes Dr. Henderson has managed to give an illuminating account of many of the forces which contributed to the customs union.

On the one hand, Prussia's interest in the Zollverein came very early to be dominated by the aim of political ascendancy, with the exclusion of Austria. Only in the content of her Zollverein policy were the fiscal interests of a moderate customs tariff, abetted by conservative agricultural free-trade

partisanship, predominant. On the other hand, her partners in the union were not moved by national patriotism, unless it were in the abortive, protectionist Frankfurt episode. At all times they staunchly upheld their local economic interests, with occasional promptings from British and other foreign agents. They effectively blocked Prussian low-tariff gestures. Nor were they coerced by political threats. It was the demonstration that the Zollverein afforded larger revenues at reduced costs of collection that cemented the union. In view of this, Prussia's threats to withdraw were her most effective weapon in negotiations over policy. Thus to 1866 the Zollverein, with its concomitant standardization of excises, local monopolies, weights and measures, coinage, and economic legislation, developed through intricate episodes of fiscal bargaining and co-operative administration. It was a striking triumph for the Prussian civil service in the face of serious economic diversity.

Henderson is restrained in evaluating the economic effects of the Zollverein. The coming of the railway, he holds, was at least as important in the industrial transformation of Germany as the rise of a free-trade area. The cyclical character of that development bore strongly upon successive phases of tariff policy. In the long run it paved the way for imperial protection. List's propaganda was more important for ideology than for immediate practice. Such moderate protection as was introduced in the forties did not enable the Zollverein to bargain with notable success with the more industrialized countries. Henderson infers that economic union facilitated, although it did not create, political union. The economic dependence of Hanover and South Germany, paradoxically, contributed to that revolt against Prussia in 1866 which, defeated, made their dependence more secure.

Henderson's background allusions are not always sure. The importance of California quicksilver is exaggerated (p. 232). Frankfurt was an international bond market long before the 1850's (p. 233). If the Kuczinski series of price movements was not to be consistently adhered to, another one should have been followed.

This review is written as the world is pondering the outcome for Europe of another great international conflict. Dr. Henderson's thoughtful analysis of the career of the Zollverein is especially recommended to those who, in elaborating wishes for a new Europe, regard fiscal and economic techniques as important for their realization.

Wellesley College.

LELAND H. JENKS.

The House of Commons, 1832-1901: A Study of its Economic and Functional Character. By J. A. THOMAS, Lecturer in History in the University College of North Wales, Bangor. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press Board. 1939. Pp. 176. 7s. 6d.)

"PARLIAMENT is not a congress of ambassadors from different and hostile interests. . . . Parliament is a deliberative assembly of one nation, with one

interest, that of the whole; where not local purposes, not local prejudices, ought to guide, but the general good resulting from the general reason of the whole." So stands it written in the famous speech which Edmund Burke addressed to the electors of Bristol in 1774 after they had chosen him to be their representative. An examination of the parliamentary debates on the Reform Bill of 1832 leads the author of the present volume to the conclusion that the opinion then prevalent was that parliament, or rather the house of commons, was just what Burke had said it was not—a congress of ambassadors from different interests, elected to look after those interests.

Mr. Thomas has made an important addition to the literature inspired by the economic or "functional" approach to politics. He does not contend that members of parliament are actuated exclusively by economic motives, but he thinks that "very little attention has hitherto been paid to the part which economic interest plays in shaping the beliefs and desires of the individual member and of the party to which he belongs". Unsupported statements, to be sure, have been made to the effect that both of the older parties have long been the tools of capitalism, but such statements have failed to carry conviction. "Clearly a judgment which is not founded upon a detailed scrutiny of fact is worthless; equally clearly the study of a political institution which omits an examination of one of its vital characteristics is superficial."

The author deals with the seventeen parliaments of the period 1832-1901 and gives tables to show the economic composition of the two major political parties returned to the house of commons of each of these parliaments and of the minor parties. They are tables of "interests", classified as landholders, merchants, manufacturers, etc. If a member was a landholder, a railway director, and a financier, he counts as three interests. The tables are the most valuable part of Mr. Thomas's study and serve as a basis for important generalizations. Their usefulness is not diminished by the fact that to a large extent the conclusions which they support have long been commonly accepted, for they put generalizations on a secure inductive basis. Thus they show, among other things, the decline of the landed interest and the rise of newer interests in the house of commons during the period under consideration. In 1832 land accounted for more than half of the total interests in the parliamentary membership of both the great parties, though it was less dominant in the Liberal than in the Conservative. By the close of the century the newer economic orders predominated in both parties.

It is evident that a great amount of labor has gone into the compilation of these tables, and for this Mr. Thomas deserves our gratitude. They would have answered more questions than they do, however, if they gave the number of members of each party returned at each of these seventeen general elections as well as the number of interests. The number of each interest in a party could then be expressed as a percentage of the membership of the party. It would be very interesting to know, for example, how the proportion

of landholders in the Liberal-Conservative (Peelite) party compared with that in the Tory-Conservative party.

Mr. Thomas's figures do not always seem to warrant his conclusions. He tells us, for example, that on the third reading of the bill for the repeal of the corn laws 203 landholders and 187 industrial and commercial interests voted for the bill (pp. 107-108). This does not support the statement that "the Government derived its main support from members representing Industry and Commerce" (p. 108) and that "the economic interests likely to benefit from the repeal of the Corn Laws were its chief support" (p. 109). It may be, of course, that a considerable number of landholders who supported the bill were also industrialists or merchants, but the author gives no evidence to show that this was the case.

In his bibliography Mr. Thomas lists the sources used in compiling his tables. Scholars would have welcomed some evaluation of these sources, some critical discussion of their scope and limitations.

Columbia University.

R. L. SCHUYLER.

Dunant: The Story of the Red Cross. By MARTIN GUMPERT. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1938. Pp. 323. \$2.50.)

THIS is an extraordinary, a tragic tale, the story of a man who was born to wealth and who died in an almshouse, who attained international fame only to pass into oblivion for years, who launched one of the greatest humanitarian enterprises in all history only to see it taken in hand by others and, for all its splendid service, fall short of his ideal and purpose.

Shocked by the horrors of Solferino, Henri Dunant conceived the idea of a neutral international organization for the care of the wounded and the innocent victims of war. Driven by "an elemental intuition" that he "should accomplish a sacred work for the benefit of mankind", he labored with an apostolic, an almost fanatical, zeal until his idea was realized in the Geneva Convention and the Red Cross—realized, but never fully. For what Dunant contemplated was not only the alleviation of suffering but also, and above all, the removal of its cause. "Expediency", however, decreed otherwise: on the issue of war the organization must remain strictly neutral. Even when the Nobel prize was awarded to the founder there were those who protested—"the Red Cross was not an agency for promoting peace"!

For the author the life of Dunant and the story of the Red Cross are but strands in a larger pattern. His real theme is the age, which he analyzes with insight and precision and portrays with vividness, revealing its features with startling fidelity. It, too, is a tragedy, a tragedy of the decline of faith, the worship of power, the prostitution of science, the surrender of reason to brute force, the fading of the humanitarian vision, the recrudescence of barbarism. Overdrawn? Perhaps; but still too faithful a likeness not to be recognized. In the mirror of the past the present may discern itself.

And so, for the author, Dunant becomes a symbol, the deeper meaning of which is to be found in his vision rather than in his achievement. The inference is clear and inescapable: war is not only the cause, but even more truly the result, of the degradation of humanity; and we shall not escape from it until we recover that reverence for human dignity, that horror of cruelty, and that passion for justice, which inspired the Swiss philanthropist whose "sacred work for the benefit of mankind" is still uncompleted and is needed as never before.

Truly, this is a book for our times, a book to read and to ponder.

Brown University.

THEODORE COLLIER.

Italy and the Vatican at War: A Study of their Relations from the Outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War to the Death of Pius IX. By S. WILLIAM HALPERIN, Instructor in History, The University of Chicago. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939. Pp. xvii, 483. \$3.00.)

AN almost day by day chronicle of the conflict between Italy and the Vatican during less than eight years fills the five hundred pages of this volume. The story is told mostly by quotations from contemporary documents—notes, correspondences, and diaries—and especially from newspapers and periodicals reflecting the views and opinions of different political parties and groups. The repercussions of the conflict in several European states, the interplay of clerical forces in the various countries, the pressure brought to bear by them on their governments in behalf of the papal cause, and the use that such governments made of the Roman Question for internal political purposes are all very well brought out of the maze of heated controversies and Machiavellian intrigues.

Not so satisfactory is the picture of the activities of Vatican diplomacy in its various endless attempts to mobilize nations and governments against Italy; but perhaps this chapter will be fully explored only when the Vatican archives are available to the historians. Still less satisfactory is the treatment of the internal situation in Italy from the point of view of the reaction of the Italian people to the Vatican policy of aiming to bring about the collapse of the new Italian state by a process of internal disintegration. Neither the politicians of the left with their violent anticlericalism nor the always hesitating moderates, and much less the small but noisy group of the extreme clericals of the *Unità Cattolica* or of the Jesuit *Civiltà Cattolica* and the rest of the "black press", represented the real feeling and the ideas of the rank and file of the Italian population.

The reason why this point is missed by most writers dealing with this problem is their failure to realize that in Italy the conflict between the state and the Vatican and the conflict between the state and the church, though interdependent and connected in many ways, were distinct and must not be confused and identified. To the rank and file of the Italian Catholic popu-

lation the conflict with the Vatican was purely political, and as such it affected little or not at all their religious conscience, while it loomed large in the political struggles of parties and in the field of international relations. This explains why the Vatican failed altogether to stir the Italian Catholic conscience to the point of creating serious internal difficulties for the government. The conflict between church and state, on the contrary, appeared as a religious question which affected personal and local interests and institutions. Here the politicians as well as the Vatican knew that they could not go beyond a certain point in extending the conflict. The result was that while on the political question there was not, at that time, any possibility of conciliation, on the religious question both parties were eager to compromise. The author has missed this aspect of his history and has failed to see that while the conflict with the Vatican was going on, and even in its most acute periods, there was always behind the scene a less unfriendly contact between the two powers and that a system of relations, or a practical *modus vivendi*, was in process of formation, day by day, to meet concrete problems in a compromising spirit.

The author has collected an immense amount of material from printed collections, considerably less from archival unprinted sources, and has perused with painstaking care the large literature on the subject. His book has the value of an indispensable compilation for the future historian of the Roman Question.

Harvard University.

G. LA PIANA.

The Congress of Berlin and After: A Diplomatic History of the Near Eastern Settlement, 1878-1880. By W. N. MEDLICOTT, Lecturer in History, University College, Swansea. (London: Methuen and Company. 1938. Pp. xii, 442. 15s.)

THIS significant work by a mature student of East European diplomacy has all the marks of a good doctoral dissertation: the lengthy narrative covers only a limited period; it is minutely annotated and has two appendixes; there is a good bibliography and an excellent index. It is based largely upon archival material. Its longest chapter (ch. II, pp. 36-136) is devoted to the Congress of Berlin; the shortest (ch. III, pp. 137-47) is a preliminary statement on "The Powers and the Treaty Settlement", while the next seven chapters deal with the various phases of treaty provisions and with their execution. The narrative ends with the downfall of the Disraeli ministry in April, 1880.

The author has worked prodigiously in the Austrian foreign office archives in Vienna, in the Russian embassy archives in London, and in the Public Record Office. There is, however, practically nothing novel in his views on the events and statesmen or on the statesmanship of the period, but they are supported by documentary evidence. He defends the treaty because

"no more satisfactory solution was, at the moment, possible", but he does not hesitate to criticize the powers for their failure to make provision for many inevitable and impending changes. His criticism of British diplomacy follows the path opened by Gooch, Seton-Watson, and Toynbee rather than that of Temperley and, say, Woodward. His judgment of Disraeli and Salisbury is restrained but sober, too much credit is given to Bismarck for being sincere in his role as an "honest broker", Shuvalov is rightly judged as Russia's best diplomat, while the estimate of poor, vainglorious, but well-meaning Gorchakov is too severe; nor is the attempt to discredit Gorianov's view that "Bismarck virtually betrayed Russia at the Congress" sufficiently convincing.

This book marks considerable advance in the use of Russian material and also shows definite improvement in the transliteration of Russian names; at last the suffix "of" (and "off") is properly displaced by "ov". The name of the province Dobrogea would be made easier by spelling it as Dobruja. In the Turkish word *sandjak* the letter "d" still remains. The correct form of the word *evkaf* (p. 108) is *evkaf*, and *Terjinian* (p. 288) should read *Terjiman*. Professor A. Coville's name is misspelled as Colville (p. 291). The late M. W. Tyler's *European Powers and the Near East, 1875-1908* should have its place in any bibliography on the subject.

New York City.

A. O. SARKISSIAN.

The Background of Anti-English Feeling in Germany, 1890-1902. By PAULINE RELYEA ANDERSON. (Washington: American University Press. 1939. Pp. xxii, 382. \$4.00.)

THE George Louis Beer Prize Committee found a very worthy recipient for its 1939 award, for here is a doctoral dissertation of the highest merit. Intending, as she tells us in her preface, "to try out a method of handling public opinion rather than to exhaust a problem of research", Mrs. Anderson set out to find the reasons for the rise of anti-English sentiment in Germany during the twelve years that fell between Bismarck's retirement from office and Bülow's rejection, in 1902, of British overtures to alliance. The search led far beyond diplomatic documents into a maze of newspaper and periodical files, chamber of commerce reports, reichstag debates, handbooks of propaganda organizations—in all, a wealth of various materials which have been used most intelligently.

Successful practice of Mrs. Anderson's method has for its prerequisite a keen insight into the organic complexity of moments in the life of a state. The discords and harmonies, the realities of representation, the organs of articulate interests, the state of political consciousness, the roots of foreign policy in the internal necessities of a political society, all these and more must be apprehended before the method of discriminating search for significant

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expression of opinion and sentiment can be fruitfully worked. It is because these matters are grasped by Mrs. Anderson that every page of her book is pervaded by sound historical understanding and is relevant to the whole.

The capital fact in all this story is an effort to overcome the crisis of threatening decomposition which came upon the German political community after Bismarck resigned its direction. The rising tide of Social Democracy, the clash of agrarian and industrial interests, the defective system of representation, the sectarian tendencies of German parties, the nonpolitical mentality of so large a part of society, and the loss of the sense of national mission or objective were facts that gravely alarmed the men of the state and the dominant elements in the social hierarchy. *Weltpolitik* and navalism were taken up by statesmen and propaganda organizations not in automatic response to the appetites of the German economic mechanism but for the conscious purpose of preserving the social order and political community, by dedicating it to new goals, welding together the elements of the state, and infusing all with political consciousness. Of the Wilhelmian imperialism Mrs. Anderson concludes that "the logic of the situation, whether wholly conscious or not, was to create a powerful and successful Germany as the surest means of preserving the social and institutional status quo".

Anti-English propaganda was of course an inevitable concomitant of *Weltpolitik* and navalism, since these led the German organism to invade the "Lebensraum" of British capitalism and empire. But we are shown convincingly in this book that "propaganda machinery was prone to set up enemies in order to arouse the country to action". And much Anglophobia was by no means the natural response to actual collision with Britain but was fomented for the purpose of overcoming the sluggish political Philistinism of the German people and so filling them with great conceptions and ideals. Nor was England chosen as the target for main vituperation merely because of her enviable world dominance; she was singled out for this also because the lords of Prussian society saw in her an object lesson in what they wished to avoid. "Sympathy with and admiration for England on the part of German Social Democracy frightened the ruling classes in Germany away from a democracy in which Trade Unionism was even stronger than at home".

Mrs. Anderson's study reflects the encouraging trend, now more and more manifest, away from a historiography darkened by economic determinism and mechanistic conceptions of state and society and towards a more rich and illuminating understanding of political purposes, activities, and values. Nothing mars her book save occasional careless proofreading and a few rather unfelicitous translations from German texts.

Fordham University.

ROSS HOFFMAN.

Features and Figures of the Past: Government and Opinion in the Reign of Nicholas II. By V. I. GURKO, Late Assistant Minister of the Interior and Member of the Russian State Council. Edited by J. E. WALLACE STERLING, XENIA JOUKOFF EUDIN, H. H. FISHER. Translated by Laura Matveev. [The Hoover Library.] (Stanford University: Stanford University Press. 1939. Pp. xix, 760. \$6.00.)

BETWEEN 1894 and 1917 Gurko served in the imperial chancellery as head of the peasant section of the ministry of internal affairs, assistant minister of internal affairs, and member of the council of state. Drawing on a rich experience, he has painted highly interesting pictures of the governmental apparatus. He presents a striking sketch of the superannuated members of the council of state, an institution tottering "on the brink of the grave", as well as one of the more effective imperial chancellery. It is in his delineations of individual statesmen of the day, however, that Gurko excels. With a mordant pen he portrays the sluggish, sybaritic Goremykin; Sipiagin, immersed in administrative detail and the project of a magnificent palace on the Fontanka; the ineffectual Ermolov; and many others. Unfortunately, however, some passages are little more than catalogues of obscure officials. One passage lists fifteen individuals in eleven pages; another, twenty-one.

Apparently the author is swayed by strong conservative prejudices, evidenced by his enmity to Witte. Indeed, an appropriate subtitle for the book might have been "The Mistakes of Witte". To be sure, in discussing the genesis of the Japanese War Gurko himself shows that Witte had insistently opposed the folly of Bezobrazov's Korean dreams, and Kuropatkin, minister of war in 1904, states that the adoption of "the new course" of defiance to Japan was a victory for Witte's enemy Plehve, who supported the adventurers and thereby "settled accounts with Witte". Nevertheless, Gurko blames the latter for the war on the ground that the construction of the Chinese Eastern Railroad and the development of southern Manchuria led inevitably to conflict. Witte is also charged with sabotaging the efforts of Plehve and Gurko to improve Russian agriculture by abolishing the commune. It seems, too, that Witte permitted the Moscow uprising to take place in December, 1905, "especially since it would occur at a safe distance from his place of residence". The Cadet party is likewise severely dealt with. Although Gurko recognizes that under Plehve the government "was suspended in midair and that its sole support was the administrative and police apparatus", he fails to see that the chief hope of avoiding a social revolution lay in accepting the limited political revolution which surrender to the Cadets entailed. To him the Cadets are unprincipled demagogues who did much to ruin Russia in the name of "political freedom".

For all the author's bias, however, the book contains a wealth of information. Especially valuable is the account of Gurko's early efforts to accomplish the abolition of the commune and to build up a class of prosperous peasants

who might support the government. These efforts were momentarily frustrated by the assassination of Plehve, but they laid the foundation for Gurko's eventual triumph in the attack on the commune by Stolypin.

A commendable feature of the book is the array of notes appended by the editors. As is usual in the volumes of this series, they aid materially in clarifying the text.

Brooklyn College.

JOHN S. CURTISS.

Memoirs of the Peace Conference. By DAVID LLOYD GEORGE. Two volumes. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1939. Pp. xix, 490; xvii, 492-964. \$10.00.)

THE scope of this work is enormous. The first volume is devoted half to the preconference period—on which the records of the imperial war cabinet, here utilized, are a most important addition to our information—and half to chapters on some of the most controversial negotiations at the Peace Conference—Russia, the Rhineland, reparations, the German colonies, disarmament, the League of Nations, and the International Labor Organization—with considerable account of English public opinion. This volume represents Lloyd George at his worst. On the one hand, he attempts to deny his own major responsibility for a settlement of reparations which violated his own pledges to President Wilson's program and to Germany and in the event proved disastrous. This chapter is a shambles of inconsistencies, suppressions, and perversions of fact, of which the present reviewer has given a full account in an article published in the *Journal of Modern History* (XI, 362-78). On the other hand, he manipulates the record so as to give exclusive credit to the British—and to a lesser degree the French—for the achievement of the League of Nations and the International Labor Organization. By a series of personal sketches in a vivid caricature style he manages to reduce the stature of the American delegates in order to increase his own. The theme of this volume, as to a lesser extent of the second volume, is Lloyd George's achievement, practically single-handed, of a peace of wisdom and justice. He says that he cannot discover a single particular in which the German treaty "departed from the terms of peace laid down by the Allies before the War came to an end".

The second volume is more of a record and less of a tract, for it deals with problems in the solution of which Lloyd George's own share was either honorable or negligible. It is devoted mostly to the other treaties which emerged from the Peace Conference and deals largely with the creation of new states or the enlargement of lesser states. After a chapter on the Italian claims he treats successively of the territorial establishment of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Hungary, and Poland. Much more than half the volume is devoted to the Treaty of Sèvres and the resultant problems of European and Asiatic Turkey.

In general Lloyd George played an important part in restraining the excessive claims of the new states for the territory of their enemies, notably in the case of Poland. Here his record is complete and convincing, but it has long been available in other sources. That the Peace Conference was less successful in bringing the other territorial settlements into conformity with ethnographic principle Lloyd George attributes to the fact that the Big Four delegated the non-German treaties to the foreign secretaries, who paid more heed than the Four to strategic and economic arguments in the award of boundaries. Undue weight, in his opinion, was given to such considerations in the determination of boundaries for Austria-Hungary. He records his own contemporary objections to the claims put forth on behalf of Czechoslovakia by Benes, "with great skill and craft", and adds: "The questions I put to Dr. Benes show that I viewed his proposed incorporation of territory occupied by German and Magyar majorities with serious misgiving . . . as a departure from the principles laid down by the Allies during the War." Benes nevertheless had his way with the council of foreign ministers.

Lloyd George's treatment of the Treaty of Sèvres shows the same dangerous pro-Greek and anti-Turk sentiment which led him to political disaster in 1922. He was anxious that the United States should assume a mandate not only for the administration of Armenia but for Constantinople and the Straits as well. But failing that, he wished to place Greece in control of the Straits. "As far as the maritime Powers were concerned, it would have been an ideal arrangement for us and for France. Greece was so much at the mercy of any naval Power that she would not have dared to slam the gates of the Dardanelles against their ships." He goes on to explain that Wilson's departure—leaving these questions still unsettled—led to a fatal delay in the conclusion of the Turkish treaty. Hope that Wilson could win American opinion to the assumption of such responsibilities did not begin to fade until the following October, 1919. "The first suggestion that we should not wait any longer for an American decision on the mandate question was made by me at the Allied Conference held at 10, Downing Street, on February 12th, 1920." By this time a change of attitude had developed in both France and Italy more favorable to Turkey, and the Turkish Nationalist movement of Kemal had begun. The Treaty of Sèvres when finally drafted was already too late. Nonetheless Lloyd George has nothing but scorn for his successors, who surrendered to the Turk in "the black Treaty of Lausanne". There is little here about Lloyd George's own contribution to that debacle by supporting the Greek invasion of Anatolia, but his pages ring with charges of treachery against French and Italians for supporting Turkey.

The book ends, as it began, with praise for the treaties and scorn for those who failed to execute them. Lloyd George says that Wilson, Clemenceau, and he would all agree today that "the Treaties were never given a

chance by the miscellaneous and unimpressive array of second-rate statesmen who have handled them for the past fifteen years."

This is the American edition of *The Truth about the Treaties* (London, 1938) under a more accurate title. The present reviewer has already called attention to a second, and less appropriate, alteration of the original in the article in the *Journal of Modern History* already referred to, but the comment there needs revision. The Yale University Press deleted a passage which appeared in the English edition (I, 248), in which Lloyd George, sanctimoniously appraising Colonel House's moral code, represented him as a negotiator who actively helped Clemenceau and others to get what they wanted from President Wilson. The editor of the Yale Press said that the passage had been eliminated as "a purely personal attack on a dead man", and the reviewer concluded that the reason for the suppression was presumably "a discriminating regard for House's reputation" (*Jour. Mod. Hist.*, XI, 371). From further communication with the editor he has learned that the former was concerned about the possibility of libel action and that he sought to protect the Yale University Press rather than Colonel House's reputation.

Williams College.

PAUL BIRDSALL.

AMERICAN HISTORY

Christopher Columbus: Being the Life of the Very Magnificent Lord Don Cristóbal Colón. By SALVADOR DE MADARIAGA. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1940. Pp. x, 524. \$4.00.)

THIS brilliant book cannot be accepted as a work of lasting value or even as a contribution to our knowledge of Columbus. In Columbus's voyages the author is little interested, and his statements about ships, seamanship, sea passages, and coastal exploration are inaccurate, jumbled, and misleading. But the true test will be an examination of the main thesis: that Columbus was of Spanish Jewish convert stock and knew it and other *conversos* knew it, and that this racial fact unlocked the gate to America and glory, as it now opens every mystery in Columbus's life and character.

Here are no Pontevedra documents, Catalanisms, or Baconian hypotheses. Señor de Madariaga is too intelligent to ignore the evidence that Columbus was born in Genoa of a wool-weaver's family. But he argues that the Colombos were Jewish immigrants from the Peninsula who became converted but continued to talk Spanish at home and to keep alive Jewish traditions. No statement or even hint to this effect has been found in the writings of contemporaries. Many hard things were written about the admiral during his lifetime and after, but there is no record of his being called "that Jew" or "that *converso*", even in the perjured testimony of the *pleitos*. Consequently Señor de Madariaga has been forced to derive meaning, as

Mr. Justice Frankfurter recently remarked on a different subject (Palmer *v.* Massachusetts), "not from specific language, but by fashioning a mosaic of significance out of the innuendoes of disjointed bits". In the hands of so skilled a literary artist this picture makes a favorable impression. Yet it amounts to nothing in comparison with the overwhelming direct evidence that the admiral was a Genoese Christian Catholic of North Italian stock, utterly unconscious of any Jewish blood in his veins, although like any other European of the time his chance of having had a remote Jewish ancestor was excellent. And if he was a Jew, he is the only great explorer and outstanding seaman of that race since Moses. The mariner's astrolabe was invented, says Camoens, by a "wise and subtle Jew"; but Columbus did not know how to use it. He was weak in celestial navigation, where his Jewish contemporaries were strong, and strong in practical seamanship, one of the few callings in which Jews have never excelled.

The author's strongest point is the absence of Italian and the exclusive use of Castilian and Latin in the admiral's extant writings, which form no mean corpus. The only writing supposed to be his and dated before he went to Spain is postilla No. 858 in his copy of Pius II's *Historia rerum* (1477); this note is in Castilian and dated 1481. *Ergo*, says our author, Castilian was the admiral's mother tongue. If this postilla is in Columbus's hand, which Fritz Streicher, in his *Kolumbus-Originale*, doubts, it may only mean that the young man was learning Spanish. Genoese is the dialect most unlike Tuscan or classical Italian, and no Genoese lad could have known Italian unless he had learned it at school. Even a patrician Genoese like Micer Imperial, who emigrated to Spain, wrote Castilian exclusively; how much more likely that a young wool-weaver's son would have first learned to read and write after he left Genoa and would shortly have forgotten his mother tongue? Thousands of intelligent but illiterate emigrants to America have done just that.

This hurdle surmounted, we come to three alleged Jewish traits in Columbus's character: his contractual or bargaining sense, his propensity to quote Esdras and the Old Testament, and his fondness for prophetic utterances. Yet a contractual sense is also characteristic of Scotsmen and of Italian shopkeepers, whilst quoting the Scriptures and applying Hebrew prophecies to an immediate purpose had been commonplaces of Christian dialectic for at least ten centuries. Next, we have the "typically Jewish mobility" (p. 114) of the Colombos, as evinced in Christopher's leaving Portugal for Spain and in the wanderings of Bartholomew. Must we, then, conclude that the Cabots, Magellan, and Verrazano were Jews? The author is fond of suggesting that there is something Hebraic about the admiral's "wandering" on the high seas when he was either checking up on new islands or tacking against the wind. Navigators, beware! If you beat to windward, you are in danger of being taken for a Wandering Jew.

Finally, we have an interesting picture, based entirely on the author's imagination, of prominent *conversos* ganging up to make Isabella change her mind and send *converso* Colón to the Indies. Señor de Madariaga declares that *conversos* were so numerous in the court of Ferdinand and Isabella as to form a sort of mutual assistance pact for members of their race. Here we have the sort of dialectic sadly familiar in works on the influence of this or that race in America. Anyone is likely to get caught in the Madariaga net. Beatriz Enriquez de Harana must have been *conversa* because she "generously gives herself" (p. 160); even Diego Mendez "probably" was *converso* because he bequeathed the Colloquies of Erasmus and a copy of Josephus to his son! If Señor de Madariaga ever gets going on early New England, he will be forced to conclude that the real fulfillment of Isaiah xi, 10-13, which Columbus applied to his proposed crusade, was the voyage of the *Mayflower*.

The book is written in a racy style, with commendable fire and spirit, and gives an interesting analysis of Columbus's character. But it is essentially a clever piece of special pleading, not a Life of Columbus.

Harvard University.

S. E. MORISON.

Pueblo Indian Religion. By ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS. Two volumes. [The University of Chicago Publications in Anthropology, Ethnological Series.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1939. Pp. xviii, 1275. \$7.00.)

For many years Dr. Parsons has been a student of Southwest Indian culture, not as an artist, social worker, or sentimental onlooker but as a trained anthropologist with a constant and ever-increasing awareness of the historical and cultural problems. During this time she has published her findings so extensively as to make her bibliography overwhelming even to the worker who specializes in the Southwest. In this book she has assembled the information previously scattered in various periodicals and technical monographs, and she has not only collected but has organized, worked over, and assimilated it in such a fashion as to give a thoroughly rounded résumé of Pueblo social organization and religion. This summary is given in the introduction, which runs to over a hundred pages and is of priceless value to layman and specialist alike.

To the student of the Southwest, however, the introduction serves only as a starter to what Dr. Parsons considers her real job. This, in her mind, is a presentation of ceremonial in all its aspects—organization, performance, attitudes, and historical relationships. All of the author's work shows the most careful and patient consideration of detail, and this book is no exception. She has assembled the least as well as the most apparent features of a large number of related yet diversified groups, and she has, moreover, given interpretations of their significance.

The book is far more than a conglomeration of exotic practices. It is a

synthesis of those practices with a painstaking and critical evaluation of theories which may be deduced from or applied to them. In the region inhabited by the Pueblo Indians—Taos, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Tesuque, and Nambé, of the eastern group; Santo Domingo, Sia, Cochiti, Jemez, and Isleta, representative of a more central group; Laguna and Acoma to the south; Zuni and Hopi, best known of the western division—all the problems common to the disciplines of history and anthropology are present in the most complex form. Dr. Parsons ignores none of them, whether they are the outgrowth of time or the result of diffusion over a wide territory. However each group may have started, it had passed through a long period of change even before the advent of the whites, as is attested by the prehistoric remains in which the Southwest is so rich and to which Dr. Parsons has given due consideration. And the influence of the whites, at first as *conquistadores* and with them priests, later as government officials, reformers, and even just simple neighbors, has continued side by side with Indian contacts brought even closer by the increasing ease of modern transportation. The author discusses the heterogeneity of influences and the resultant tribal attitudes. Two long chapters analyze influences from other than Pueblo areas—California, the southern part of the Southwest, Mexico, the Plains, and the territory of the Southern Athapascans. As one reads he sees parallels—together of course with unique differences—with all sides of American aboriginal cultures, and the usefulness of this treatment cannot be overrated.

The historian who reads the introduction to this book will come to understand the implications of the various methods employed—Dr. Parsons rightly finds no one method sufficient—by turning to the last two chapters, “Variation and Borrowing”, and “Other Processes of Change”. These chapters are explicitly interpretative, although the others, which summarize the material, constantly interpret, criticize, and discriminate by implication.

Columbia University.

GLADYS A. REICHARD.

From Indian Trail to Iron Horse: Travel and Transportation in New Jersey, 1620-1860. By WHEATON J. LANE. Introduction by Thomas J. Wertenbaker. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1939. Pp. xviii, 437. \$3.75.)

THIS interesting volume is the first to appear of a series which is expected to cover in an adequate manner the long-neglected history of the state of New Jersey. Work on this monumental task began ten years ago when Lloyd W. Smith, a wealthy citizen of the state, gave a sum to Princeton University to assist in research. Under the guidance of Professor Thomas J. Wertenbaker the project is now well under way. Mr. Lane, the author of this initial volume, has long been a student of travel and transportation and is an easy, satisfying writer, not too pedantic to enliven his narrative with a good story now and then. His interest in Indian trails began when he was a boy in New Hampshire.

He shows on a map the red man's principal routes through New Jersey, some of which have become the white man's automobile roads. In fact he tells us that at least five streets of Newark are of Indian origin and that six of the nine arteries of travel radiating from New Brunswick follow the course of old Indian trails. The development of such trails into roads and the tracing of new routes by the early Dutch, Swedish, and English settlers, the evolution of stage coaches and the mails, the building and operation of canals, and the coming of steam are all adequately covered. The early traffic wars, the corporate and legislative chicanery which characterized the history of the Morris Canal and the Camden and Amboy Railroad, as well as New Jersey's later leniency towards railroad corporations, are honestly set forth. Some may wonder why the author does not go into the Gould-Fisk-Vanderbilt war over the Erie, but perhaps he considers that a New York rather than a New Jersey affair. Among the surprising things which some readers will learn from these pages is the fact that steamboats once operated on such minor streamlets of today as Rancocas and Cohansey creeks. If this seems incredible, the author explains that, just as the old-timers complain, such streams are smaller than they used to be, because of the felling of the forests.

There is some essential documentation, yet the pages are not so burdened with footnotes, one fancies, as to frighten away the lay reader. The book is interestingly illustrated with reproductions of old prints, maps, and original documents such as waybills, advertisements, timetables, lottery tickets, etc. In our opinion the project has made a good start. But why that pale, washed-out green binding?

New York City.

ALVIN F. HARLOW.

The Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons. By Father GABRIEL SAGARD.

Edited with Introduction and Notes by GEORGE M. WRONG and translated into English by H. H. Langton. [The Publications of the Champlain Society.] (Toronto: the Society. 1939. Pp. xlvii, 411.)

THE Champlain Society was well advised to add Sagard's work to the list of its distinguished publications. Few, if any, among the items of early Canadiana surpass it in its fine amalgam of historical and ethnological interest and literary charm.

The narrative details the personal experiences of the Recollect or Franciscan lay-brother, Gabriel Sagard, during a journey of his to the Huron country, which lay to the east of Lake Huron in the present Ontario, and his stay therein for some ten months, 1623-24. The brother was a keen and accurate observer, with a flair for graphic description, and managed to crowd into his account an imposing array of data of various categories concerning the historic tribe the acquaintance of which he made. Probably no other of the aboriginal tribes contacted by the whites throughout the vast reaches of New France has been pictured with the same sympathetic insight and with

the same fullness of descriptive detail as are the Hurons in Sagard's engrossing narrative. Towns, villages, lodges, agricultural methods, preparation of food, feasts, dances, songs, marriage rites and customs, upbringing of children, physical and mental traits of the savages, disease, medical practice, religious beliefs, interment and cult of the dead—these are some of the heads under which is assembled the multifarious information vouchsafed the reader. In the second and shorter of the two parts into which the work is divided "an account is given of the land and water animals and of the fruits, plants, and natural abundance found ordinarily in the country of our savages". Helpful notes supplied by the editor and his collaborators identify in modern and frequently in scientific terms the fauna and flora described.

The translation is highly readable and, as far as the reviewer has been able to check it with the French original text, happily included in the volume under review, accurate also. Maps illustrating the Huron country are added, while a note by Percy J. Robinson on Sagard's *Dictionary of the Huron Language* and bibliographical descriptions by Victor Hugo Paltsits of the brother's two works on Canada, the *Grand Voyage* of 1632 (edited in the present volume) and the *Histoire du Canada* of 1636, are also included. Format and general physical features of this latest of the Champlain Society Publications are on a high level of excellence.

Hardly any errata came under the reviewer's notice. "Father" on the title page should read "Brother"; Sagard was not a priest. The letters o.f.m. abbreviate the words, "Ordinis Fratrum Minorum", not "Ordinis Fratrum Minoris" (p. xxxix).

Loyola University.

GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN.

Archives of Maryland. Volume LV, *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland, 1757-1758* (25). J. HALL PLEASANTS, Editor. [Published by Authority of the State under the Direction of the Maryland Historical Society.] (Baltimore: the Society. 1938. Pp. lvi, 800. \$3.00.)

THIS, the twenty-fifth volume of the series embodying proceedings of the Maryland assembly, is of especial interest for the reason that it pertains to a time when the American Revolution is drawing nigh and the character of the legislative doings is such that the revolt of the colonies against the mother country can almost be glimpsed over the horizon, although no one in Maryland probably then recognized the significance of those elements whose cumulative force would soon snap the cord of old allegiances.

The time covered by this volume is little more than a year, but it was a time of dire uncertainty for the British Empire. Great Britain and France were locked in a desperate struggle for the control of Canada and the Mississippi Valley, and at the moment the outcome did not appear at all hopeful for Great Britain. Specifically, the contest raged principally about a

requisition upon Maryland, as one among four colonies, for a small body of troops, a bare five hundred, whose principal service should be to garrison Fort Cumberland in the western part of the province. With that myopia that so often motivated the colonies in their contests with the mother country, the lower house contended that the defense of Fort Cumberland was the business of the regular army and that the province of Maryland was concerned only with the protection of the settled territory. The weapon employed by the lower house was, naturally, the supply bill, into which were introduced restrictions on the use of the troops and other provisions unacceptable to the upper house, the governor, and the lord proprietary, chief among the latter being new forms of taxation—a tax on incomes, a tax on proprietary lands hitherto free from taxation, and a double tax on lands and property of Roman Catholics. This last was of course just one more phase of the long-time religious contest. The controversy dragged on from session to session, with charges and countercharges, arguments pro and con, and all to no avail except as these contentions and arguments throw light on the constitutional principles that would presently be used by all the colonies as leverage against British control. In the course of the contest many smaller herring were drawn across the trail.

The materials of the volume are admirably edited, and, what is of especial value, the editor's introduction provides so clear an exposition of the proceedings of the assembly that not even a reviewer finds it necessary to read the whole of them.

Washington, D. C.

EDMUND C. BURNETT.

The Rise of American Naval Power, 1776-1918. By HAROLD and MARGARET SPROUT. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1939. Pp. vii, 398. \$3.75.)

THIS book supplies a longfelt need by tracing the rise of the United States navy, with emphasis on policy, from the Revolution through the World War. A second volume will carry the story through the Washington Conference. Because of the magnitude of the subject the authors have had to skim over a number of topics of monographic proportions, and they have had to confine their research to published materials, chiefly the voluminous official records. It is doubtful, however, whether an examination of the bulky manuscript files of the Navy Department and the several collections in the Library of Congress would materially alter their conclusions. Within these limits the research has been thorough, and the authors make several significant contributions through their analyses of congressional votes. A few inconsequential errors of fact and date have crept in, and a few judgments that are at least arguable. For example, one may question whether public opinion at the outbreak of the World War recognized that the conflict would "profoundly affect the United States" (p. 299), and whether

America's entrance into the war against Germany was "imminent during most of 1916" (p. 349).

The story, which is told with sanity and clarity, reveals amazing inertia and conservatism in the service (particularly in resisting steam, armor plate, and other technological changes); shortsightedness, professional jealousy, and cross-purposes; politics, patronage, and the "pork barrel" (notably in maintaining useless navy yards); sectional pressure (the farther inland, the less interest in the navy); and an astonishing unwillingness or inability, on the part of both laymen and experts, to read the plain lessons of history. Despite unfortunate results, the United States pursued a policy of commerce raiding and passive defense for more than a century, choosing to beat off the enemy from its doorstep rather than build ships in such numbers that he would stay away altogether. Not until the nineties, when Mahan ably advocated his theories of the command of the sea and concentration of strength, were the old views reluctantly abandoned.

The Spanish-American War weakened the navy by imposing on it the impossible burden of defending the Philippines without adequate naval bases. The completion of the Panama Canal increased the mobility of the fleet but added to its vulnerability. The great naval bill of 1916, passed by a hysterical Congress, was out of all proportion to America's naval needs and had far-reaching postwar repercussions. The authors effectively demonstrate—and the experts knew this at the time—that faraway Germany could not have invaded the United States even if she had wanted to. Despite long warning, the navy refused to concentrate on desperately needed antisubmarine craft and continued with unneeded capital ship building. When war was declared, this policy was reoriented, after costly delays, and America contributed effectively to muzzling the submarine.

Several conclusions are implicit if not explicit. The United States, primarily because of its unique geographical position, can make itself practically invulnerable in its own waters. On the other hand, these same geographical factors render virtually impossible a successful defense of the Philippines or offensive operations in the Far East. Finally, since public opinion in a democracy shapes and sometimes cripples naval development, the people should be properly informed. No better beginning can be made than by reading this excellent book.

Stanford University.

THOMAS A. BAILEY.

The Contract Clause of the Constitution. By BENJAMIN FLETCHER WRIGHT, JR., Assistant Professor of Government in Harvard University. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1938. Pp. xvii, 287. \$3.50.)

THIS excellent monograph retraverses only in small part the ground covered by Warren B. Hunting in his incompleted essay published under a similar title twenty years ago. Basing his study upon about five hundred pertinent Supreme Court cases, Professor Wright traces the rise, ascendancy,

and decline in usefulness of the clause in the Constitution which forbids a state legislature to pass any law impairing the obligation of contracts. After following the doctrinal growth of this clause from 1789 to 1865, he devotes the remaining two thirds of the volume to an analysis of the chief classes of cases which have arisen under it, the development of the court's opinion with respect to each class, and the types of contracts or alleged contracts which have been excluded from its protection.

The topic is an important one. Before 1890 nearly one half of all the state laws declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court owed their invalidation to conflict with the contract clause. Neither the makers of the Constitution nor the men who opposed its ratification foresaw that the skill of John Marshall would transform this little portion of one sentence of the organic law, probably designed only to prevent legislative interferences with private contracts, into a powerful safeguard of all vested property rights against state assault.

The author believes that Marshall's reasoning was not always beyond reproach, but he concedes that it helped to reconcile majority rule with security for private property and that it accorded well with the wishes of a public, both in the cities and on the frontier, who might champion state rights against judicial encroachment but who anticipated no conflict between accumulations of wealth and the growth of democracy. Even before the decision in *Fletcher v. Peck* (1810), the action of several state legislatures in reserving the right to amend or repeal charters of incorporation indicated no hostility to the principle of the sanctity of vested rights but merely a desire to keep an acceptable doctrine "within reasonable limits". The author agrees with Charles A. Beard's observation, made over twenty years ago, that the obligation of contracts clause was always potentially a due process of law clause and would have become so in reality had Marshall had his way in the case of *Ogden v. Saunders* (1827). During the Taney period Marshall's interpretations of the contract clause were reaffirmed, almost without exception, and were applied more frequently and to a wider variety of subject matter than before.

The number of cases involving this clause increased during the period 1865-90, when it struck down a greater number of state laws than at any earlier or later time. But its doctrinal expansion had already ended; the states by then were hedging their charter grants with many restrictions; the concepts of "inalienable police power" and "public welfare" furnished additional checks to the activities of private business, and "due process of law" soon became a "more inclusive sanctuary for economic interests" than the contract clause had ever been. Although the clause was no longer pre-eminent after 1890, the principle of vested rights was still basic in legal thought, and the Supreme Court continued to subject state laws to the indefinite test of what it thought was "reasonable".

Professor Wright's emphasis upon the recent history of the clause adds

to the timeliness of his volume. The subject, as here presented, has vitality because it is shown in its relation to the general history of judicial review and to the growth of political democracy and large-scale business enterprise. This work, together with several others published within the last few years, makes clear that constitutional history at its best need not be an academic discussion of political theory and judicial pronouncements divorced from everyday life. Monographs similar to the one at hand might well be written about other clauses of the Constitution.

The University of Chicago.

WILLIAM T. HUTCHINSON.

Whiskey Rebels: The Story of a Frontier Uprising. By LELAND D. BALDWIN.

[Written under the Direction of the Western Pennsylvania Historical Survey, sponsored jointly by the Buhl Foundation, the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, and the University of Pittsburgh.] (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1939. Pp. 326. \$3.00.)

PROFESSOR Baldwin has given us the first adequate account of a famous incident, based on study of virtually all pertinent material.

The people of western Pennsylvania were almost unanimous in their dislike of Hamilton's excise, the chief exceptions being those individuals who received lucrative appointments as collectors and inspectors. There was, nevertheless, a division among them. A large element of the rural population displayed a disposition to do violence to federal officials and their sympathizers, while the conservatives, especially strong in Pittsburgh, sought redress in orderly ways.

Much of Professor Baldwin's story turns upon the activities of Hugh H. Brackenridge. Sympathizing with the grievances of the rural population, yet disliking violence, he attempted the difficult role of a leader who "bored from within", appearing to go with the crowd while seeking in fact to prevent extreme actions. The position of Albert Gallatin was similar.

Washington's commissioners of 1794 found the westerners pacifically inclined but insistent upon the repeal of the excise and hopeful for general amnesty. They prepared a form for signature by all who desired pardon, but it contained a promise of obedience to the revenue acts, and the tardiness of the insurgents in signing it led the commissioners to report that they did not believe the law could be enforced by the courts without aid.

The administration responded by sending the militia. Encountering no resistance, the army was used to arrest numerous suspected persons. Typical of its conduct was the treatment of certain men of the Pittsburgh neighborhood, who were dragged from their beds in the middle of the night and driven barefoot through the mud for several miles to an open pen, where they were kept from the fire in spite of rain and snow. When brought before the federal judge, after ten days of such hardships, they were released for want of evidence. Then it was discovered that a number of the prisoners were not suspects but witnesses!

One of the chief grievances of the westerners was the provision which required the trial of excise breakers in Philadelphia. Congress modified this provision in the spring of 1793, permitting trial in western Pennsylvania. Hamilton pushed measures to enforce his pet legislation before the amendment took effect, and in the sequel twenty men were taken to Philadelphia for trial. One of these died before he was tried. Two were convicted of treason but were pardoned by President Washington, one being obviously insane and the other a simpleton. The other seventeen were acquitted.

Professor Baldwin's sympathy is not with the Hamiltonians. He strongly hints that President Washington showed little understanding of the situation in the west, and Hamilton falls little short of appearing as the villain of the plot. Like the contemporary western conservatives, Baldwin believes that "John Buckskin" was aggrieved but does not condone his conduct. He finds that the Federalists made profitable use of the incident at the time but believes that it was one of the causes of the ultimate triumph of the Republicans.

The Ohio State University.

HOMER C. HOCKETT.

Antislavery Origins of the Civil War in the United States. By DWIGHT LOWELL DUMOND, University of Michigan. [Commonwealth Foundation Lectures, University College, London, Second Term, 1938-39.] (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1939. Pp. vii, 143. \$2.00.)

The Slavery Controversy, 1831-1860. By ARTHUR YOUNG LLOYD. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1939. Pp. xi, 337. \$3.00.)

THESE two books deal with the same subject, the connection of the abolitionist movement with the general antislavery controversy and the Civil War. They differ somewhat in form, inasmuch as Professor Dumond presents his conclusions in the form of general lectures, with no attempt at elaborate documentation, whereas Dr. Lloyd offers a monographic treatment based on a long bibliography and utilizing copious notes. But in temper they present a striking similarity. Each reproduces in the year 1939 an attitude that might have been expected in 1859 but cannot now be termed anything but archaic. Mr. Dumond, utilizing again his studies on Weld, Birney, and the Western abolitionists, while pointedly excluding Garrison and the Eastern leaders, assumes the complete justification of the agitators, applauds their work in bringing the Northern public to a realization of the nature of slavery, and gives them the credit for leading the way toward national regeneration through the Civil War and emancipation. Southerners appear only as persecutors and aggressors, and they bear the whole responsibility for the war. Mr. Lloyd, on the other hand, depicts the Southern people as virtually antislavery until they were forced into a defensive position by the abolitionists. To illustrate the Garrisonian attack, he gathers in one chapter sundry examples of the most extravagant abolitionist invective he can find and lets that stand as the abolitionist position. Then in four good-sized

chapters he analyzes and expounds the different Southern lines of defense, to his manifest satisfaction, and concludes by painting the abolitionist propaganda as a political device to turn the Western states against the South and enable the industrialist East to capture the government. Incidentally he employs against the "Yankees" most of the *ad hominem* arguments familiar in the prewar epoch—such as the responsibility of New England slave traders for the importations, the insensibility of New England reformers to labor conditions at home, and the like.

It is difficult to discover anything of value in this sort of writing. Mr. Lloyd's book is a piece of pure proslavery argument without the faintest trace of critical spirit. Mr. Dumond's lectures reflect the Northern attitude towards the "slaveocracy" as it used to be called. Each would have been pardonable in 1859; it seems incredible that they should actually be published in 1939. If there is anything that is thoroughly impressed upon the serious student of that period, it is the overwhelming complexity of the social, economic, and political currents and crosscurrents involved and the impossibility of depicting the actors in terms of white virtue and black villainy. What this period of American history needs is not a recrudescence of sectional writing and apologetics but a study of the whole tragic drama from the standpoint of a broad and sympathetic approach to the human nature of all parties involved. Only in that way can truth be approximated and justice for both sides attained.

Williamstown, Massachusetts.

THEODORE CLARKE SMITH.

Canadian-American Relations, 1849-1874. By LESTER BURRELL SHIPPEE, University of Minnesota. [The Relations of Canada and the United States, James T. Shotwell, Director.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1939. Pp. xi, 514. \$3.00.)

THIS interesting volume is a balanced historical treatment of the important period in which Canada attained its maturity and began new independent responsibilities indicative of its later policy in relations with the United States and Great Britain—the period of the crucial quarter century of irritating Canadian-American diplomatic relations which determined the first important decision that Canada and the United States would remain separate nations. It begins with the annexation movement of 1849 and closes with the ratification and execution of the common-sense Treaty of Washington, which attempted to settle or adjust all grievances and resulted in a period of comparative quiescence and the beginning of a new era in neighborhood relations. It treats many Anglo-American momentous episodes, delicate situations, and critical issues—including problems of the Civil War, which completed the formation of American nationality and was one of the most potent forces in the making of the Canadian nation, with an independent identity linked with the British Empire. It is especially characterized

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by a continuous leading topic—Canadian policy on trade reciprocity, which was closely associated with everlasting questions relative to the fisheries.

In contrast with a recent volume by the reviewer, on American foreign policy in Canadian relations, Dr. Shippee stresses Canadian policy in American relations. Although he has based his narrative largely upon government publications and other published materials, he has not neglected original manuscript records. Judging from his footnote references, he has used extensively the valuable manuscript materials of the Canadian Archives at Ottawa, chiefly the "G" series and the photostatic copies of parts of the "G" series obtained by Dr. J. F. Jameson for the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress. At the Library of Congress he also used reproductions of papers of the British Foreign Office and the British Colonial Office. Evidently he made less use of the manuscript records of the Department of State at Washington, but he refers to certain Consular Letters (Vol. XVI), correspondence of special agents, miscellaneous material on the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, and the Treaty of Washington Papers of 1871, and occasionally refers to dispatches in the regular diplomatic correspondence.

Possibly he may be criticized for his failure to add a general bibliography or for failure to include in his footnote references to sources some mention of recent monographs or books which have contributed new material on subjects treated by him.

The narrative contains a few minor slips or errors of statements such as the references to J. P. Benjamin as a representative of Alabama in Congress in 1858 (p. 104), to Goldwin Smith as a resident of Upper Canada in 1866-67 (p. 193), and to Henry W. Cobbett as a delegate from "Oregon Territory" in 1870 (p. 209).

The volume is well written in accord with its chief aims of new orientation and new perspective. It is equipped with three maps and an adequate index of twenty-six pages.

West Virginia University.

J. M. CALLAHAN.

A History of the Settlement of German Mennonites from Russia at Mountain Lake, Minnesota. By FERDINAND P. SCHULTZ, University of Minnesota. (Minneapolis: published by the author at the University of Minnesota. 1938. Pp. 119. \$1.25.)

The Mennonites in Iowa. By MELVIN GINGERICH. Marking the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Coming of the Mennonites to Iowa. (Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa. 1939. Pp. 419. \$3.00.)

History of the Mennonites of the Franconia Conference. By JOHN C. WENGER. (Telford: Franconia Mennonite Historical Society or the author, Goshen College. 1937. Pp. xvi, 523. \$2.25.)

In his compact and interesting master's dissertation Mr. Schultz furnishes the background for, and traces the history of, the Mennonite settle-

ment at Mountain Lake, Minnesota, from its beginnings in the 1870's to the present time. Of the fifteen thousand "Russian" Mennonites who accepted voluntary exile in that decade approximately three hundred families, averaging six persons each, came to Mountain Lake. Although Canada, the Dakotas, and two important railroad companies had tried to obtain these expert farmers, one William Seeger persuaded them to accept the invitation of the state of Minnesota. The early settlers suffered the usual hardships of pioneering plus several plagues of grasshoppers, but by 1890 the community was entering upon an era which seemed like one of normal prosperity. The American entry into the World War and the enactment of the conscription act came as a shock to the community. Since the World War the American born generation has become predominant. In 1938 the average farmer in the community had two hundred acres of land, and 65 per cent of the farmers owned their farms. This book should be of interest to students of history and sociology.

Both the author and Professor Louis Pelzer, under whose direction *The Mennonites in Iowa* was written, are to be congratulated for this interesting and scholarly dissertation. Nor should one fail to commend the publishers for producing a work of art. Much spadework was necessary to trace the development of the Mennonite church in Iowa for a century and for placing the four thousand Mennonites now living in the state in proper perspective. Moreover, since the author was writing about his own people, his objectivity is remarkable. In view of the fact that the Mennonites of Iowa came from several other states, Canada, and a number of European countries, it took effective leadership to keep the members with these different backgrounds working together harmoniously. Some of the leaders succeeded; others failed. The "Old Order Amish" sacrificed individual liberty for denominational tradition. The General Conference of Mennonites emphasized individual liberty at the expense of denominational tradition. A third group, which at the present time has the largest membership, aimed at a workable compromise. One interesting phase of the dissertation is the family histories. It is no longer necessary for the historian or the sociologist to be uninformed about the Mennonites in Iowa.

Dr. Wenger has written the official or semiofficial history of the Franconia Conference of Mennonites, which includes the oldest Mennonite communities in the United States. The work is encyclopedic and consequently not as readable as those of Dr. Gingerich and Mr. Schultz. Because of the nature of the volume the author could not be as objective. Franconia Mennonites have had their schisms. A study of the map included in the volume would seem to warrant the conclusion that the congregations have held their own in the center of the community but have lost ground to other Mennonite or non-Mennonite churches on the borders. The church polity approaches the episcopal. The bishops manage the church with little or no

lay influence making itself felt. In one case the ministers of a congregation "were required to apologize to conference" for planning a special Bible instruction meeting for their congregation without having previously obtained the consent of the conference. The bishops seem to be very much opposed to having their people hear preachers who are not formally approved by them. Apparently, independent thinking on the part of laymen is unwelcome. One result of this attitude has been the loss of "many young people". On several of these points the Mennonites of Iowa and those of Mountain Lake, Minnesota, have followed in the wake of the American democratic tradition, whereas the Franconia Mennonites maintain the political, social, and ecclesiastical tradition of colonial and pre-Jacksonian times. Since the Franconia group has been in America much longer than either of the others, the Turnerian may see in this contrast the influence of the trans-Mississippi frontier. The author's illustrations are excellent. Indexes, appendixes, bibliographies, and documentation are adequate. The volume should be especially valuable as a reference work for libraries.

Western Reserve University.

JACOB C. MEYER.

Das Deutschtum in Westkanada. Von Dr. phil. habil. HEINZ LEHMANN. [Veröffentlichungen der Hochschule für Politik.] (Berlin: Junker und Dünnhaupt. 1939. Pp. 414. 12 M.)

IN this volume the author, who published a study of the Germans in eastern Canada in 1931, has directed his researches to the German element in the prairie provinces of the Canadian West. With great thoroughness, attention to detail, and extensive research he has produced a volume that is a useful, scholarly addition to the literature of Canadian immigration.

After a short discussion of the physical features of the prairie provinces and the selective immigration policy of Canada and its railways, the narrative ferrets out the hundreds of German communities in western Canada and describes the reasons for and the methods of their establishment. Tables and maps supplement and clarify the account. Fully two thirds of the Germans in western Canada derive from the German peasant colonies of Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Rumania; most of the remainder came from the United States, and very few emigrated directly from Germany to Canada. The most interesting and successful pioneer group were undoubtedly the Mennonites, although as a result of their experiences in the World War and the depression, a substantial number have now departed for Mexico and Paraguay. Many German immigrants of the postwar period were overtaken by the crash of 1929 and the continuing depression before they could really take root in their new homes.

Especially valuable are Dr. Lehmann's chapters on the religious life of the pioneers, their press and their societies and their "German Day" celebrations, and the fate of their institutions during the World War and after.

Recent Canadian legislation against separate parochial schools has been especially offensive to certain minority groups, and a long section is devoted to the controversy over this issue. In a final chapter the author concerns himself, in the spirit of the Third Reich, with the future of the German *Volks-tum* in the Dominion. He hopes that the German element may help to combat the "communist propaganda of lies" against Germany, and the "Anglo-Canadian Jewish press", and he seems to believe that the Hitler renaissance in the Third Reich will somehow have a great integrating and consolidating effect upon the German element abroad. As a matter of fact, the Americanization process, involving that American democratic liberalism which Dr. Lehmann so much dislikes, will probably go on as relentlessly in Canada as it has among the Germans in the United States.

Oberlin College.

CARL WITKE.

The Circuit Rider Dismounts: A Social History of Southern Methodism, 1865-1900. By HUNTER DICKINSON FARISH, Director, Department of Research and Record, Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated, Sometime Instructor and Tutor in American History, Harvard University. (Richmond: Dietz Press. 1938. Pp. 400. \$5.00.)

BECAUSE of the reunion of the three principal wings of the Methodist Church this study is most timely. It enlightens the bewilderment of those unfamiliar with the deep forces that made the reconciliation of the Northern and Southern branches such a slow, laborious task. Had disagreement over slavery been the principal factor, it would seem that the two churches could have buried their differences with the extermination of the root. But, as the Southern bishops explained, slavery was only the symbol of a deeper constitutional issue involving "the right to handle and determine matters outside their proper jurisdiction" (pp. 58-59). Embitterment of relations by slavery agitation confirmed Southern Methodists in their adherence to a narrowly Scriptural definition of the scope of the church and hampered the development of a latitudinarian attitude, all of which contributed to the prolonging of the breach.

Had there been no Civil War, the road to reunion would have been much easier. But the conflict had a spiritual front carried into the South by the Northern Church and bearing with it such deep-seated animosities that the ecclesiastical schism was greatly widened. In these more tolerant days we can scarcely realize the harshness and bitterness which Mr. Farish shows to have existed towards the Southern brethren. "Methodist rebels", a "degenerate, bastard Methodism", an "apostate church", "hopelessly debauched with pro-slaveryism and tainted with treason" were some of the characterizations in the Northern Methodist press (p. 44). Perhaps the principal reason why reunion did not come sooner was that it was not desired. Nothing less than the complete disintegration or absorption of the Southern Church would satisfy the majority of the Northern leaders.

This study makes outstandingly clear the utter futility of the efforts of the Northern Church to function in an uncongenial social and political environment. At best it was never more than a feeble broken reed confined largely to the blacks in its influence. Indeed, the assaults on the Southern stronghold and the efforts to break down the racial barrier strengthened the Southern Church. Mr. Farish carefully analyzes other factors which contributed to the remarkable recovery of the latter organization after the war. Among these were a marked spirit of revivalism, the development of a more liberal attitude towards social and humanitarian reform, a more practical approach to the Negro problem, which was to give the Negro full protection and opportunity *strictly within his status*, and an unusual harmony and unity in policy and doctrine. Much emphasis is given to the contributions of the Southern Church to education, temperance, morals, and its attitude towards labor, capital, Sabbath observance, divorce, and like matters in which the church shaped public opinion.

Withal the study is well conceived and excellently executed. Most readers will probably regret that it did not include an analysis of the forces and trends of the twentieth century which made reconciliation possible, although some of these are detectable. Such an analysis was beyond the scope of the book, as the title indicates, and at least the question is answered why unification was impossible before the twentieth century. The bibliography, inclusive as it is, compels the reviewer to advance his impression that a fuller use of Northern sources would have revealed that the Northern Church was probably as a whole less uncompromising in its attitude towards the Southern wing than this excellent study reveals.

The American University.

W. M. GEWEHR.

Negro Education in Alabama: A Study in Cotton and Steel. By HORACE MANN BOND. [The Susan Colver Rosenberger Prize Essay, 1937, The University of Chicago.] (Washington: Associated Publishers. 1939. Pp. 358. \$3.25.)

THIS study deserves to be expanded into a complete history of the Alabama Negro. As it is, the first 134 pages are a short history of slavery and Reconstruction in the South. They make clear the political rights and education of free Negroes even in slavery times and throw a flood of light on Reconstruction, superseding Fleming's inadequate and prejudiced study. The bonds of sympathy between Negro freedmen and poor whites are shown to have tended toward unified political action, cutting across the lines of race antagonism. As in so many other states, the chief criticism of the radical or Republican party was the lack of property owned by its voters. As late as 1875 the effort of the Southern conservative was to put government in Alabama in the hands of taxpayers. On the other hand Bond shows that many of the Negro leaders of Reconstruction times, like Rapier, were not leaders of the poor but identified their interests with the rich.

The most important contribution made by Bond supports my own unproved contention that the so-called enormous Reconstruction debt heaped up by Negro suffrage in Alabama was a false accusation. Bond shows that the so-called debt of thirty million dollars was a myth and instead of being an actual debt was a potential promise of payments to railway builders composed of Northern and Southern capitalists. If the debt had been paid, the state would have owned all the railways of Alabama—which would not have been such a bad thing. As it happened, the Democrats on coming to power simply refused to keep the promises made largely to themselves, and the “debt” was scaled down. The Republican party in Alabama was shown to have promised economic revolution to poor whites and freedmen and collapsed when Northern capitalists and Southern planters came to terms.

Chapter vi and chapters x-xiv deal particularly with education. They show that there was no public school system worthy of the name before Reconstruction. What existed was subsidies paid to private schools and schools for laborers on a subscription basis. The real public school system arose during Reconstruction times. It was nearly starved to death after the conservative restoration in 1874, and thereafter every effort was made to keep from giving equal educational opportunity to Negroes and whites. Mr. Bond’s study of the constitutional convention of 1901 is interesting. He shows that the convention came at a time of sharp competition between white and Negro labor and was a fight to eliminate the dangerous Populist Movement. In that convention the then young Heflin distinguished himself by declaring “God Almighty intended the Negro to be the servant of the white man”. The result of this convention was to eliminate the Negro as a political power, reducing the number of Negro voters in the state to less than four thousand. All emphasis was laid on the education of white children, and the convention made this possible.

Economic changes, however, especially the urbanization and industrialization of northern Alabama through steel and coal, congregated Negroes in cities and made some difference in school allotments. Nevertheless, although the Negro schools have improved between 1900 and 1930, the improvement has not been nearly as great as that among the whites, and today a city like Montgomery, with thirty thousand Negroes, has no senior high school for them. Perhaps the most interesting chapter in the book is chapter xiv on the influence of individuals on public education of the Negro. It contains a searching evaluation of Booker T. Washington which has not been surpassed and an equally interesting study of J. L. M. Curry. Perhaps the least satisfactory part of Mr. Bond’s book is his interpretation of the economic development of Alabama and its relation to the country and the world. Nevertheless even here he has contributed much, and on the whole this book is worth study as well as reading.

Atlanta University.

W. E. B. DU BOIS.

The Early Writings of Frederick Jackson Turner. With a List of All his Works compiled by EVERETT E. EDWARDS, and an Introduction by FULMER MOOD. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1938. Pp. xi, 316. \$3.50.)

UNQUESTIONABLY the reading public both abroad and in the United States regards Frederick Jackson Turner as the foremost interpreter of the expansion of the American people. Any book, therefore, by—and almost any book about—a man who achieved that distinction, particularly when he achieved it otherwise than by the writing of books, must be looked upon as a more than ordinary event. The preface to the present volume is by Dr. Louise Phelps Kellogg, the logical person to write it. Dr. Fulmer Mood contributes an admirable thirty-six page essay on “Turner’s Formative Period”. Following this is the reprinting of four of the early Turner essays: “The Significance of History” (1891), “Problems in American History” (1892), “The Character and Influence of the Indian Trade in Wisconsin” (1891), and “The Significance of the Frontier in American History” (1893). “A Comparison of Differing Versions of ‘The Significance of the Frontier’”, which should logically have come next, appears later in the volume. Mr. Edwards, historian for the United States Department of Agriculture, has supplied an excellent chronologically arranged bibliography of Professor Turner’s writings, which runs to thirty-five pages. There is a list of “References on the Life and Works of Frederick Jackson Turner” and an index to the bibliography as well as a general index. A splendid likeness of Professor Turner enhances the value of the volume.

As Dr. Kellogg points out, the book serves two ends. On the one hand, there is a reprinting of the essays, on the other hand, an explanation and an illustration of Turner’s evolution as a productive scholar. As to the essays, their inclusion is amply justified. Probably few students of history have read the first two of the above-mentioned four, since they originally appeared in publications now virtually inaccessible and have never hitherto been reprinted—and this notwithstanding the fact that the first of the four was the declaration of his faith, while the second was the chart and compass of his course. The second phase of the volume has to do with the systematic development of Turner’s education at Wisconsin and at Johns Hopkins, with his own historical growth as reflected in the catalogue announcements of his lecture courses from year to year at Wisconsin, and with the processes by which he improved his technique. To begin with, we have Dr. Mood’s essay. In this reviewer’s opinion there is no better presentation in American historiography than this scientific analysis of Turner’s preparation for his life work. Creative ability can, indeed, be accounted for. Then we have the reprinting of the most famous of the essays, in the form in which the public first received it, and a careful analysis of the more important variations in its numerous appearances. The latter enables students readily to compare the first text with the later versions. The striking conclusion is the insignificance

of the changes between the 1893 and the 1920 versions. The mature scholar was willing to abide essentially by the conclusions he had reached nearly thirty years before. Finally, one peruses the rapidly mounting titles, running to approximately one hundred exclusive of book reviews, in Mr. Edwards's bibliography. It is an amazingly complete story of orderly development. If genius is the capacity for taking infinite pains, then it was never better illustrated than in the career of Frederick Jackson Turner. The evidence is irrefutable, especially as marshaled by Dr. Mood, that Turner's great essay, in a sense the father of all his later historical progeny, was no more struck off in a moment of sudden inspiration than was the Constitution of the United States.

Professor Turner was under no illusion as to his hypothesis. He laid no claim to finding a panacea suitable for all historical ills—though for approaches to historical solutions he suggested nearly every diagnosis that is possible. In "The Significance of History" he said: "Each age writes the history of the past anew with reference to the conditions uppermost in its own time." In spite of all attacks on the Turner hypothesis it—like Washington's monument—still stands. Professor Frederic L. Paxson once succinctly stated the case for it. Back in 1933 he wrote: "When it is used as its framer framed it, it is as useful a guide as it ever was." This book will prove a *vade mecum* for Turner students. It is the highest type of memorial to the great pathfinder.

University of California at Los Angeles.

LOUIS KNOTT KOONTZ.

Papers of John Davis Long, 1897-1904. Selected and edited by GARDNER WELD ALLEN. [Massachusetts Historical Society Collections.] (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society. 1939. Pp. xxi, 464. \$4.00.)

JOHN DAVIS LONG, after serving as governor of Massachusetts and as a member of the House of Representatives, was Secretary of the Navy during the exciting years between March 4, 1897, and May 1, 1902. His papers in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society contain some fifteen thousand letters written while he was in the Cabinet. From this number the 377 letters now printed were selected. Only 24 were written by Long himself, and these include practically all of his authorship in the collection. By far the largest group are from various naval officers who apparently carried on an extensive private or semiofficial correspondence with Long. Material of this character has rarely been printed, so that this volume will be of great value not only to students of the naval history of the Spanish-American War but also to anyone interested in the organization and administration of the Navy Department. Many of the letters were marked "personal" and were in fact personal. Requests for special assignments, recommendations of other officers, vigorous complaints about the army, and opinions on the Sampson-Schley controversy are recurring subjects. Among the naval officers none

wrote more frequently than Captain Mahan. Naturally his views on the conduct of the war are of special interest. Perhaps it was his experience as a writer of history that made him anxious to have the records show the decisive part he played in determining policy on several occasions. Another famous person in the Navy Department during this period was Theodore Roosevelt. The letters written by him do not entirely confirm the usual stories of him as an adolescent bull-in-a-china-shop.

The subjects most frequently discussed in the letters from people not in the Navy Department are intervention in Cuba and the acquisition of overseas colonies. No significant revision of existing accounts is necessary, but exceedingly quotable expressions of contemporary opinion, especially that opposed to the war and to imperialism, are supplied by a number of prominent Massachusetts correspondents.

Assuming, as one must, that the editor did not omit them, the absence of letters from McKinley or from any member of his Cabinet is significant. Only a very few from anyone refer to domestic party politics. Evidently Long, like so many Cabinet members before him and since, was appointed to manage the administrative details of his department without participating in the formulation and execution of either national or party policies not immediately connected with his one corner of the government.

The Johns Hopkins University.

W. STULL HOLT.

Elihu Root. By PHILIP C. JESSUP, Professor of International Law, Columbia University. Two volumes. (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. 1938. Pp. xi, 563; vii, 586. \$7.50.)

JESSUP leaves no doubt of the influence of Elihu Root upon public policy or of the high quality of his statesmanship. Jessup's own legal training fitted him admirably to portray the logical and lucid quality of Root's mind. His thoroughness gives his work an unusually definitive character. He not only had access to Root's voluminous and valuable collection of papers but to Root himself through much of the period of preparation. Valuable material came from conversations with Root or letters from him in answer to such questions as any biographer wishes he might ask the original actor. The mellowness and detached quality of Root's later life gave these testimonials a value that neither his own contemporaneous judgments nor posthumous guesses of others about him could have attained. Yet Root chose not to see the biography, and the product evidences no family restriction upon the author. Jessup has furthermore combed the State and War departments' archives, the letters of Roosevelt, Taft, and Lodge, and other manuscript records of contemporaries for Root material. The quantity and competence of this work is impressive. There is no impression of a hasty throwing together of undigested data that mars so many biographies. The staggering mass of material is marshaled with masterful orderliness worthy of Root

himself. The evidence has been boiled down to its essentials, so that, while the biography is long, it is not made too long through lack of time taken to refine the gold from the dross. The style is clear but not brilliant. At times, however, the narrative drags and is dull during the early chapters on Root's legal career. That this is not altogether the author's fault is evidenced by the steadiness with which he sustains interest once he gets Root into national office. Sometimes, particularly in the earlier portions of the book, there is needless trivial detail. Topping each chapter with the inclusive calendar years and Root's age is helpful, but the quotations from Root that serve as chapter titles, though interesting, fail to describe the substance of the text. The last few chapters are painfully anticlimacteric. The court conferences were perhaps inevitably so, and for their triviality the Senate and not Root was responsible. It seems a pity to climax a great career of public service with Root's fondness for feminine companionship, his love of motoring, his friendship with the Carnegies, etc.

Jessup happily combines respect for and understanding of Root with a critical spirit. He is not afraid to pronounce judgment or to interpret. He portrays Root's great qualities, though full justice is hardly done to his sparkling wit. His devotion to Sig friends, to Hamilton College, and to the Republican party run through the story as frequently recurring motifs. His affection for Roosevelt and the generosity that could prevent his retorting to his former friend's bitter denunciations are impressive. Capacity to understand opponents' views made him fair and effective in a fight. Jessup portrays without concealment the part shrewd calculation played in social relations while young Root was establishing himself, the concern for party that sometimes transcended concern for bigger principles, the emotionalism that dominated him during the World War, and the hatred for Wilson that overpowered his usual soundness of judgment. He describes Root's vigorous and courageous attacks on the Philadelphia gang, Hearst, and Lorimer, when corruption or dishonesty became scandals or threatened to injure the party. But he also tells how skillfully under ordinary circumstances Root worked with political bosses and accepted their methods when they served ends that he and the party regarded as desirable. He describes Root's independence in his stand on reciprocity and the repeal of the Panama tolls but also his unfairness to Aguinaldo in Philippine pronouncements that were campaign documents rather than fair statements of conditions. He describes but does not stress the part Root's partisan bitterness toward Wilson played in withholding senatorial suggestion and co-operation from Wilson and even from his own friend Henry White in Paris and hence, too, in defeating American participation in the League that Root wished us to join.

Watching in Root the reaction of an honest and intelligent conservative to the Progressive era is enlightening. So, too, is Jessup's portrayal of the way pro-Ally bias and war turned the usually calm judgment of a man

accustomed to understanding opposing points of view into the same kind of emotional hysteria that seized common folk with none of Root's intellectual qualities. Jessup claims for Root the major role in matters where it has traditionally been assigned to Roosevelt. He believes that Root exercised over his chief a restraining hand that prevented extreme policies and ill-considered actions. Root's role in the 1912 convention Jessup defends at some length, though attempting to be fair to Roosevelt as Root felt that *he* was. Yet Jessup leaves an unsatisfied feeling, for in Roosevelt's position there was, somehow, along with personal ambition, a devotion to popular principles in the face of machine domination that makes Republican rules and the legalistic soundness of Root's position somewhat trivial and unconvincing.

One weakness is Jessup's handling of Root's legal career. This section is dull, in part because significant matters are omitted. Root had famous and infamous clients. He served them long and well. No adequate picture is drawn of his relation to them or of the nature of his services save where public criticisms forced discussion. Jessup is unconvincing in his defense of Root's connection with Tweed and his counseling men like Ryan, Whitney, and Widener. The defense is special pleading unworthy of the rest of the book. Root could take a stand in favor of public welfare in his capacity as a citizen and then as a lawyer accept fees for aiding clients in opposing it. Jessup accepts the explanation that Root was dominated by devotion to his client whoever the client was, sometimes the public, which in office he served effectively, sometimes corporations engaged in antisocial practices, which he aided. Jessup fails to discover in this a lack of social conscience or of keen moral sensibility. An analysis of the social implications of a great corporation lawyer's career during the development of American industrialism would have had great significance.

The other serious weakness is Jessup's failure to emphasize Root's narrow class outlook on life, his lack of sympathy for or understanding of ordinary people, and his blindness to fundamental social and economic questions. As a conservative of intelligence and integrity, he rendered notable service in making the system work more efficiently. But he could say of a popular demand for reform, "We are not to be intimidated by the vulgar cry of an excited populace." He believed that democracy governed colonies and conducted foreign policy "damned badly". He could say of Puerto Ricans, "The natural tendency of the ignorant is to think that the Government ought to make them all rich and happy without any exertion on their part." Jessup points out that, in his praise of Diaz, Root failed to realize that material blessings did not get down to the peons. He shows that Root could not comprehend the fundamental aims of the Progressive party, the "sound bases of economics and equity for an income tax", or the Russian Revolution. In short, Root was influenced not by clients' fees but by his own economic background. Jessup criticizes American democracy because people did not elect

a man of Root's ability to the presidency. Perhaps the people, realizing that Root would not benefit farmers, labor, or poor men, proved its capacities to judge well in refusing to elect a man who failed to understand fundamental social and economic problems and whose instincts and interests were undemocratic.

Root's lack of social conscience and moral sensibility and the limitations of his class outlook prevented his great ability and force of character from making him a statesman of the first order. The failure of an otherwise excellent study to perceive this does not deprive Jessup's work of rank among great American biographies.

The University of North Carolina.

HOWARD K. BEALE.

Across the Busy Years: Recollections and Reflections. By NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER, President of Columbia University. Volume I. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1939. Pp. 451. \$3.75.)

Across the Busy Years, the first of two volumes of which the second evidently is already well advanced toward completion, immediately goes to the shelf of source books of contemporary American history. President Butler's habit of keeping note of conversations and incidents, together with his wholly extraordinary ability to be at the important place at the important time, lifts his autobiography far above the level of mere reminiscence, and he does not stop for the trivial; nor does he fall into the trap which few autobiographers escape of recording long defenses for acts once criticized but long since forgotten.

The narrative moves forward at a busy, even rapid pace, always at a high level, and if, in the course of such crowded years, the author has had to deal with some important people whom he neither respects nor likes, he ignores rather than "smears" them. Autobiography in America has rarely reached a higher level. While the wide sweep of Dr. Butler's horizon invites a broader view, it is appropriate here to consider his autobiography merely as history.

This volume is about evenly divided as between American political history of the last half century and educational history, prefaced by the usual chapters on ancestry, family life, and the author's early school, college, and university experiences. The early chapters, save for the first one, which seems out of place and not quite in key with the others, are important for all who would know what the United States of the last half century was like. They reveal the life of a family which, for the most part, reached America long after the American Revolution: President Butler's father was born in London in 1833. We know a great deal about our pioneers, about the noble Forty-Eighters, and about our more or less contemporary immigrants who started in the New World at scratch or severely handicapped, but we have had too little about those immigrants of the first half of the last century who brought from the British Isles substance and culture and immediately added so much to the scanty store of American resources. There is in President

Butler's book a valuable glimpse of social, industrial, and political life in an industrial city—Paterson, New Jersey—just after the Civil War. Here we observe a family which was completely American and at the same time enriching American life with a contemporary Old World culture from which Americans in general had been long since separated.

The educational chapters tend to support the thesis that education up to the age of twenty is important chiefly for its moral rather than for its intellectual content. Dr. Butler does not think highly of what he was taught or of the method, and this goes for the greater part of what was offered to him at Columbia College from 1878 to 1882. In college he was a self-supporting student and graduated with a substantial sum to his credit in the bank. He pays tribute to one great teacher, Professor John W. Burgess, and to President A. P. Barnard. What he received from college, however, was primarily a scale of values and a point of view such as the modern school and college seem less able to supply.

The early chapters could not have been more condensed, and the concluding political chapters are both fascinating and informative, but one wishes for more than the seventy pages which Dr. Butler devotes to his educational work as teacher and then as president. It is to be hoped that he will find room for more of that in the second volume. This one devotes a chapter to the founding of Teachers College, one to the emergence of the university, and another to the broader aspects of educational administration, such, for example, as the establishment of the College Entrance Board examinations and the early years of the National Education Association.

President Butler has often refused political office, has declined to be diverted from his overmastering purpose in education, yet half of his volume is devoted to political affairs: fourteen national political conventions; his contacts with municipal, state, and national leaders, especially a long list of Presidents from Garfield down. His notes on the convention of 1916 are particularly full and valuable. All his life a Republican and without, in the autobiography, overdoing the "I told you so", President Butler presents himself as easily a better man than his party, about which he is in some despair. He concludes that while there remain millions of Republicans, their party has disappeared. He lays claim to having made the initial drafts of three party platforms and having had a hand in the drafting of many more. "I was never able to get into any platform", he writes (p. 286), "a straightforward declaration in favor of economic and social security through a system of social insurance against unemployment, disability, and dependent old age." Nor did he have much better success on tariff questions. Furthermore, promises made in the platforms were not kept later in Washington, a defect not to be ascribed exclusively to the Republican party.

Across the Busy Years presents a record of achievement rarely equaled in American educational history.

Hague, New York.

TYLER DENNETT.

NOTICES OF OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS

GENERAL HISTORY

The Bible of Mankind. Compiled and edited by MIRZA AHMAD SOHRAB. (New York, Universal Publishing Company, 1939, pp. xxx, 743, \$5.00.) Selecting representative excerpts from so voluminous a body of material as the sacred scriptures of Hinduism, Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, Judaism, Christianity, Islam, and the Bahá'í Cause is a delicate task, fraught with the danger of displeasing every devotee whose favorite passages may be omitted. Mr. Sohrab has done this work with wisdom and sympathy. He has deviated from strict impartiality only in the disproportionate amount of space given to his own Bahá'í literature—138 pages, while the extensive scriptures of Hinduism and Buddhism are represented by 59 and 34 pages respectively. That the intent of the work is inspirational rather than historical is evident throughout. The subject matter is arranged under topics often more indicative of the compiler's interest than of the characteristic stresses of the religions concerned. The quotations are very brief and necessarily divorced from the social settings which produced them and gave them their peculiar vitality. Even within the topical headings the order is only partially chronological. It is perhaps too much to expect in a popular anthology that the results of modern higher criticism of Oriental scriptures affecting their dates and validity should be taken into account. These religions are portrayed as finished products with the contributions of all ages treated as a unity, not as historical developments emerging to meet the changing problems of living men. References to the sources are, however, supplied, and the student who can provide his own historical perspective has in this volume a wealth of valuable material in convenient form. The Western world, with its tradition of intolerance, its long-standing attitude of superiority, and its woeful lack of popular interest and information concerning cultures other than its own, should welcome any contribution of this type with gratitude.

A. EUSTACE HAYDON.

The Historical Method in Social Science: An Inaugural Lecture. By M. M. POSTAN, Professor of Economic History in the University of Cambridge. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1939, pp. 38, 50 cents.)

European Civilization: A Political, Social, and Cultural History. By JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON, FRANKLIN CHARLES PALM, JOHN J. VAN NOSTRAND, The University of California. (New York, D. Van Nostrand, 1939, pp. xii, 1297, \$5.00.)

A History of Western Civilization. By ARTHUR P. WATTS, University of Pennsylvania. Volume I, *From Ancient Greece through the Renaissance.* [Prentice-Hall History Series, Carl Wittke, Editor.] (New York, Prentice-Hall, 1939, pp. xxxvii, 786, \$5.00.)

Hunger and History: The Influence of Hunger on Human History. By E. PARMALEE PRENTICE. (New York, Harper, 1939, pp. xvii, 269, \$3.00.) This is a book of very considerable interest, for the author has read widely, and sometimes well, and has a keen interest in methods of farming derived from long and successful experience of his own. His researches can justly be called

scholarly, yet their result is interesting rather than significant. He lacks historical training and the power of judgment necessary to distinguish among a vast number of writers those who make use of the best evidence and among an army of facts those that are essential. Mr. Prentice appears from this book to be both an antiquarian and an experimental agriculturist of real ability, but he is unable to rise to the philosophical interpretations of the true historian. It merely makes him seem ridiculous when he states the causes of the fall of the Roman Empire on the basis of the very interesting book of M. des Noëtes on horses and one volume in the Halphen series of French histories called "Peuples et civilisations". Yet his book is useful to economic historians because he has brought together many facts that are seldom noticed but deserve recognition.

ARTHUR L. DUNHAM.

Punishment and Social Structure. By GEORG RUSCHE and OTTO KIRCHHEIMER. With a Foreword by Thorsten Sellin. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1939, pp. xiv, 268, \$3.00.) This volume is the first of the American series of publications issued by the International Institute of Social Research, established in Frankfurt-am-Main in 1923 as an affiliate of the university there, closed by the Nazis in 1933, and transferred to Columbia University in 1934. It is devoted to a history of the methods of punishment and the concepts of criminal law from the Middle Ages to the days of the Nazis. Most of the facts here given relative to the evolution of criminal law, ideas of punishment, and prison administration are already well known, but the authors have rendered a very great service in relating the changes in these fields of thought and action to the social environment. They give us our first clear picture of how changing social and economic systems have fundamentally altered the ways of thinking and acting in relation to crime and criminals. In this way the book will be an invaluable supplement to existing literature on the history of crime and punishment. The lesson the authors draw for the future of criminal law and prison reform is clear and logical. The present stupidities and brutalities in dealing with criminals are tied up with the existing social and economic system, and they will not be abandoned so long as the system lasts: "The futility of severe punishment and cruel treatment may be proven a thousand times, but so long as society is unable to solve its social problems, repression, the easy way out, will always be accepted." Unfortunately there is more evidence substantiating this view than one would care to admit.

HARRY ELMER BARNES.

Regensburg and Augsburg. By RAPHAEL STRAUS. Translated from the German by Felix N. Gerson. [Jewish Communities Series.] (Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society of America, 1939, pp. x, 261, \$2.25.) Monographs on various communities afford great assistance in the study of Jewish history. The book under discussion suffers seriously because it is a translation. It embodies a great deal of scholarship and painstaking research, but it reads very poorly and might be much improved if the numerous facts were more frequently summarized to give the reader conclusions and general impressions. The book leaves one with the feeling of having read a compilation of notes. Since the publication should appeal to the intelligent general reader, as well as to the scholar, this is an important fault. The theory still advanced in some quarters that Jews had no rights in the Middle Ages is again disproved. Regensburg and Augsburg once more illustrate the fact that the Jewish community, up to comparatively recent times, functioned as a source of revenue and taxes and as such was accorded certain privileges by the authorities. The right to tax the Jews of Regensburg and Augsburg was disputed, by the cities themselves, the emperor,

the king, the nobles, and the church. The Jewish community was a source of contention among the rulers, each claiming the right to tax and control it. Expulsions take place when the Jewish financier and moneylender is no longer needed or is replaced by the Christian. Latent prejudices are then inflamed, and the Jew is suppressed. Individual Jews were given special privileges and protection, but the Jews of Regensburg and Augsburg were not emancipated until late in the nineteenth century. On the whole, this little book presents valuable material, but the reader does not obtain a clear picture of the Jewries of Regensburg and Augsburg.

HERBERT I. BLOOM.

The American Jewish Year Book. Volume XLI, 5700, September 14, 1939, to October 2, 1940. Edited by HARRY SCHNEIDERMAN for the American Jewish Committee. (Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society of America, 1939, pp. xxix, 790, \$3.00.)

Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society. Number 35. (New York, the Society, 1939, pp. xxiv, 341, \$4.00.) This volume contains many brief papers as well as the following longer studies: "Jewish Colonial Enterprise in the Light of the Amherst Papers, 1758-1763", by Frances Dublin; "A Voyage to America Ninety Years Ago: The Diary of a Bohemian Jew on His Voyage from Hamburg to New York, 1847", edited, with an introduction, by Guido Kisch; "Jewish Prototypes in American and English *romans* and *dramas à clef*", by Edward D. Coleman.

Solomon Schechter: A Biography. By NORMAN BENTWICH. [A Golden Jubilee Volume.] (Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society of America, 1938, pp. xvi, 373, \$2.50.)

Solomon Schechter, M. A., Litt. D.: A Bibliography. By ADOLPH S. OKO. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan Company, 1938, pp. xxi, 102, \$2.25.) These two volumes supplement each other very effectively. To do justice to the variegated career of Schechter, this child of a Rumanian ghetto who climbed to a position of leadership in British and American Jewry, Bentwich has made use of a vast number of letters and other unpublished materials in addition to the huge literary output by and on Schechter, which is more fully analyzed in Oko's bibliography. Since Schechter's literary and epistolary creativity really began after his arrival in London in 1912, the decisive first thirty-odd years of his life could be presented only in a very general outline. But his career in London and Cambridge, where he served with distinction as the university's reader in Rabbinics for twelve years, is described in graphic detail and with full documentation. The story of Schechter's expedition to Cairo and his discovery of its famous manuscript collection, which, transported to the Western libraries, has revolutionized our knowledge of many phases of Jewish history and literature, is told here, for the first time, fully and with considerable impartiality towards conflicting claims. Less complete and convincing appear the sections on Schechter's activities in America and the analysis of his work as scholar, writer, and leader. Even so, this well-written full-length biography will be read with interest by both the specialists and the general public. Dr. Oko's *Bibliography*, being rather unconventional, sheds further light on Schechter's life and work. Apart from listing, with nearly absolute completeness, all books, articles, and speeches which appeared under Schechter's name, it furnishes characteristic quotations and other descriptive data from these works and emphasizes the public reaction to them in the shape of reviews and polemical notes. It also gives a good selection of "studies

and appreciations" of Schechter and of noteworthy contemporary newspaper notices on his activities. SALO W. BARON.

The Development of Political Theory. By OTTO VON GIERKE. Translated by Bernard Freyd. (New York, Norton, 1939, pp. 364, \$4.00.) The translator makes available in an English necessarily peppered with Latin Gierke's *Johannes Althusius und die Entwicklung der naturrechtlichen Staatstheorien*. Great as was the author's scholarship, the work which has been done in this field in the sixty years since this study was first published makes clear that his judgment was not always infallible, and one cannot but regret that the translator's modesty has prevented him from adding an occasional note to warn the unwary that Gierke's is not the last word on all the political writers whose opinions are discussed. Gierke, for example, writes: "In but one important point did Althusius correct Bodin's idea of sovereignty: filled with the idea of the legal and constitutional State, he rejected the whole notion of 'potestas absoluta', and treated the sovereign power itself as bound not only by Divine and Natural Law, but also by positive law and especially the fundamental law" (p. 161). But Bodin expressly states more than once that the sovereign is bound by the fundamental law, and Gierke himself notes that "Bodin's absolutist idea of sovereignty stops short only at private law; contracts bind even the Sovereign, and personal liberty and property must be recognized by him as inviolable" (p. 158). Friedrich gives a better explanation of the difference between the views of Bodin and those of Althusius in the introduction to his edition of Althusius's *Politica* (p. xcvi). This divergence should certainly be referred to in any modern edition of Gierke's book, and why not, then, in a translation? The printer's font seems to have lacked a *kappa*. The discovery of such words as *χοινωνία* (p. 35) and *αναχεφαλαίωσις* (p. 54) is distressing.

SUMMERFIELD BALDWIN.

Roots of Change. By JOSEPH H. FICHTER, S. J., Spring Hill College. With a Foreword by James M. Gillis, of the Paulist Fathers. (New York, Appleton-Century, 1939, pp. xv, 319, \$2.50.) "The outstanding leaders I have chosen to write about were not always influential in the right direction, but there can be no doubt about the fact that their influence counted heavily in the molding of their own time and country." These leaders include Vincent de Paul, Rousseau, Paine, Marx, Leo XIII, and Sidney and Beatrice Webb.

The Amazing Career of Sir Giles Overreach: Being the Life and Adventures of a Nefarious Scoundrel Who for Three Centuries pursued his Sinister Designs in Almost All the Theatres of the British Isles and America, the Whole comprising a History of the Stage. By ROBERT HAMILTON BALL. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1939, pp. ix, 467, \$5.00.) This book examines Philip Massinger's *A New Way to pay Old Debts* from the standpoint of presentation and acting and gives "a more or less unified view of the English and American stage". The historical "antecedent" of Sir Giles Overreach was Sir Giles Mompesson, "the extortionate commissioner of patents" under James I.

Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde. Herausgegeben von der Historischen und Antiquarischen Gesellschaft zu Basel. Volume XXXVII. (Basel, Verlag der Historischen und Antiquarischen Gesellschaft, Universitätsbibliothek, 1938, pp. 216, xx.) Four studies printed in this volume should be noted: "Das Apothekenwesen Basels", by Josef Anton Häfliger (conclusion); "Hieronymus Christ, Landvogt von Münchenstein, 1729-1806, als Physiokrat", by Eugen Teucher; "Das Basler Ritter-Ordenshaus St. Johann

und die Stadt Basel", by Gottlieb Wyss; and "Der Überfall auf Schweizer Kaufleute bei Waldau im Schwarzwald im Jahre 1634", by Hermann Schrempf.

Frankreich, Russland, und der polnische Thron 1733: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der französischen Ostpolitik. By Dr. ELLINOR VON PUTTKAMER. (Berlin, Ost-Europa-Verlag, 1937, pp. ix, 116, 5.80 M.) This number of "Osteuropäische Forschungen" is apparently intended as an indictment of the policy by which France held Poland in tutelage during the eighteenth century. Hence it exculpates the "Eastern Powers" for their part in the final partition. But an account of only one episode in that tragic train of events, and that restricted to a single point of view, can hardly invite our confidence as a definitive treatment. Whether we regard Poland's dissolution as due to internal or external factors, its roots reach much further back into the past. Moreover, the writer's conclusions seem somewhat less simple and forthright than we might expect from the press notices. One suspects the publishers of a conscious effort to adapt their academic publications to official requirements in seeking to prove that Eastern Europe is Germany's natural sphere of influence. Dr. Puttkamer has done her work with care, but one feels she would have done better to devote her attention less exclusively to the role played by France and French agents to the exclusion of other governments, notably those of Russia.

STUART R. TOMPKINS.

The Papal Conflict with Josephinism. By Sister MARY CLARE GOODWIN. (New York, Fordham University Press, 1938, pp. xiii, 157, \$2.00.) In this slender volume on the relations between Joseph II and the papacy Sister Mary Clare Goodwin argues that had the emperor limited himself, in conjunction with the hierarchy and the sanction of the papacy, to the necessary and desirable correction of abuses in the church, he would have achieved his purpose of unifying Austria instead of disrupting it. Instead, however, of developing an empire in which the state and church, as co-ordinate powers, could have worked along parallel lines for the public welfare, Joseph comported himself something like a secular bull in an ecclesiastical china shop, thus provoking a reaction which vitiated his efforts. If one assumes, as the reviewer does, that this thesis itself is very much open to question, that it perhaps formulates a condition contrary to fact, then the merit of this study is reduced to the meticulous marshaling of evidence and little more. Certainly those chapters in which the author deals with the attempts at ecclesiastical reform and with the whirlwind of opposition which they aroused are the most valuable of the work. The relevant acts are presented with meticulous care and accuracy, even if the tone is mildly sorrowful for the generous-minded but mistaken ruler. The introductory chapter, on the other hand, which treats the formative influences upon Joseph, is distinctly inferior. It is shallow, marred by oversimplifications, and, in an effort to make order out of the momentous speculative confusion of the eighteenth century, it reduces developments and theories to formulas that are at best only true by half, for example, that Voltaire's erudition "created a system of thought which plunged the eighteenth century into an abyss of complete religious indifference" (p. 5). LEO GERSHOY.

Europe in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, 1789-1938. By A. J. GRANT, Formerly Professor of History in the University of Leeds, and HAROLD TEMPERLEY, Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge. Fifth edition. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1939, pp. xxiii, 700, \$4.00.)

Central Asia: Personal Narrative of General Josiah Harlan, 1823-1841. Edited by FRANK E. ROSS. (London, Luzac and Company, 1939, pp. 163, 8s. 6d.) This volume contains a biographical introduction by the editor and three Harlan papers—one of them a fragment—dealing mainly with the geography, the customs, and the causes of turmoil in northern and northwestern Afghanistan in the later 1830's. Harlan, "the first American to operate" in Central Asia, served for over a decade as a noteworthy adviser of princes of the Punjab and of Afghanistan. His greatest achievement perhaps was the instruction of Afghan troops in European military tactics in the later 1830's. Though his papers here published do not reveal much directly about his role in these affairs, they contain many observations of significance for social history and are important, particularly as such sources on Central Asia in his time are scarce. Harlan regarded the Uzbeks as "an unsocial, coldhearted race" who "would rather sell than feast a traveller" (pp. 70, 78). Apparently, in his judgment, Uzbek slave raiders were largely responsible for the prevalence of turmoil in Central Asia, and the Hazaras of northwestern Afghanistan were the people of the country most "entitled to our regard" (see especially pp. 118, 154-55). He judged very unfavorably the behavior of the British in the Afghan expedition of 1838-39 (p. 144).

F. S. RODKEY.

An Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt. By J. HEYWORTH-DUNNE, Senior Lecturer in Arabic, School of Oriental Studies, University of London. (London, Luzac and Company, 1939, pp. xiv, 503, 25s.) The author of this work intended to make a study of the language and literature of the Modern Egyptians but realized that, "before any serious work could be done in this field, it would be essential to investigate the channels through which the Egyptians received European education and culture". The result is this volume tracing the history of Egyptian education before the French occupation up to the British occupation, based on a collection of all available sources, Eastern and Western, printed and manuscript, which throw light on all the educational reforms undertaken in Egypt. The volume is an important and scholarly contribution to the history of education which has a double interest to the student of the subject. It is in the first place a meticulously detailed history of the subject, which is its primary purpose—the development of education in Egypt from 1700 to 1883. In the second place it is an excellent type study of the difficulties which attend the attempt to build a national system of education on the basis of theories and practices borrowed from foreign countries. The difficulties arising from the conflicts between the tradition of al-Azhar, and the intellectual influences from France, England, and missionaries representing not merely denominational but national differences were cumulative and created the complex of educational problems with which the Egypt of today is confronted and which form the subject of two Columbia University dissertations—*School and Society in the Valley of the Nile* by A. Boktor and *The Effects of Centralization on Education in Modern Egypt* by R. Galt. Both of these studies point to the importance of the work by Heyworth-Dunne for those who wish to understand the backgrounds of education in contemporary Egypt.

I. L. KANDEL.

The Politics of the Balkans. By JOSEPH S. ROUCEK. Foreword by Fritz Morstein Marx. (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1939, pp. xv, 168, \$1.50.) That elastic word "Balkans" is used in this book to include Rumania, Yugoslavia, Albania, Greece, and Bulgaria. The first two chapters describe in general terms the geographical

and racial factors in the region, the political characteristics, and their economic and social bases. Then follows a discussion of political conditions in each country down to the end of March, 1939, which combines rather successfully a historical approach, emphasizing the period since 1918, with a sociological and economic interpretation. A separate chapter deals with the Macedonian question, and a final one, which is far too brief to be of much value, outlines foreign policies and relations. The book is excellent as an introduction to the subject for those who want a brief treatment and who are well aware of the limitations of generalization. The notes provide a good selection of material for further study though by no means an exhaustive bibliography. Incidentally, in note 9, page 163, "Hattan" should be "Hutton", and in note 13, page 164, "Holp" should read "Wolf". An indication of the sources of the statistical tables would help the student. But an even more significant defect is the absence of any maps in the treatment of a region where place names are not as well known as those in other countries thus far included in this series. In summary, this is a useful but not a profound book, the best available on general political trends but not as informative concerning recent foreign policies and economic factors as, for example, *South-Eastern Europe* (2d edition) by the Royal Institute of International Affairs, a volume of about the same size and published a few weeks later.

D. E. LEE.

The Great Powers and the Balkans, 1875-1878. By MIHAÏLO D. STOJANOVIĆ. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1939, pp. xii, 296, \$3.50.) Nightmares—and then feverish intrigues each day. Such was the impression left concerning the combined activities of diplomatists during the three-year span of the Balkan crisis, 1875-78. Bismarck alone remained comparatively unruffled. "Pull", he advocated in essence, "pull Turkey to pieces; Turkey is dead." Ultimately "compensation", but not "partition", served as the needed sedative for weary statesmen. In his preface the author, who is a Serb, proposes to unveil "how far those responsible for the conduct of affairs were conscious of the consequences of their actions, and how far they contributed to render the war of 1914 inevitable". Of necessity, he arrives at no satisfying answers. Dr. Stojanović concludes (pp. 280-83): "The real gainer by the Treaty of Berlin was England." She had "instinctively followed the road which proved to be most advantageous for her". The *Dreikaiserbund*, hobgoblin of Britain, "was destroyed". Russia, weakened, soon lost "all influence" with the south-eastern Christians. Austria was temporarily supreme in the Balkans, but her national heterogeneity "doomed her to dissolution". Germany, although ascendant in Europe, by failing to support Russia "had tied up her fate with that of Austria". Does the author possibly imply that Bismarck was responsible for the World War? The finger of guilt ought, more logically, to point toward Andrassy and Disraeli since they choked the Christian "area of freedom" and, assisted by Pan-Slav leaders, prevented Serbia from fulfilling her "rôle of Piedmont". Thereby they merely hung up the Southern Slav question in new raiment which another generation discarded. The book contains nice touches on Balkan diplomacy, and the chapters covering Plevna to Berlin deserve especial praise. Despite the criticisms of preface and concluding paragraphs, the intervening volume is exceptionally sound and compares favorably with any of the recent crop of studies in its field.

WALTER G. WIRTHWEIN.

England, Europa, und der Orient: Untersuchungen zur englischen Vorkriegspolitik in Vorgeschichte und Verlauf der Balkankrise 1912. By WERNER SCHRÖDER. [Beiträge zur Geschichte der nachbismarkischen Zeit und des

Weltkriegs.] (Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1938, pp. x, 230.) After laying the foundations for his study with a brief discussion of Great Britain's position in the Triple Entente and her interest in the Eastern Question, Dr. Schröder plunges into his account of British participation in the Balkan crisis of 1912-13. Essentially the author's analysis, which is a rather orthodox German account of the diplomatic maneuvers involved, begins with a portrayal of British policy and the background of the Balkan crisis of 1912. The author briefly outlines the development of the "European fronts" in 1912 and describes the position of the powers at the outbreak of the first Balkan War. The volume closes with a note on that war and the European crisis at the beginning of the Conference of Ambassadors at London in December, 1912. There is a very short concluding chapter. Dr. Schröder has used most of the great documentary collections in his study, with the exception of the Bulgarian materials. Students of the problem, familiar with the documentary collections and with the works of others who have dealt with the period, will find nothing new or startling in this brief volume.

HARRY N. HOWARD.

Reciprocity, 1911: A Study in Canadian-American Relations. By L. ETHAN ELLIS. [The Relations of Canada and the United States, James T. Shotwell, General Editor.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1939, pp. x, 207, \$2.50.) Dr. Ellis has produced an interesting, lucid, and very detailed account of the whole abortive attempt to establish a reciprocal trade agreement between Canada and the United States in 1910-11. He traces the story through all its phases, from the varying motives of Taft and Laurier in attempting the agreement to the development of Canadian opposition to reciprocity and its eventual rejection. Dr. Ellis has given an admirable analysis of the antireciprocity forces in the United States and in Congress. But, in the opinion of this reviewer, he fails to show exactly why the agreement was finally adopted by Congress in the face of such formidable opposition. In regard to the struggle in Canada, Dr. Ellis's description of the imperialist cry as merely the propaganda of interested men is oversimplified, even if the discussion is confined to economic factors only. Apart from the Canadian Manufacturers' Association and kindred souls, there was, in 1911, a more general economic basis for a strengthened imperialist sentiment. Canada had just achieved a much closer economic integration with Great Britain, largely as a result of extensive railway construction, the development of the wheat-exporting west, and heavy British capital investments. In general this volume is based too largely on printed materials and lacks the intimate, inside knowledge which can result only from the use of private papers. Dr. Ellis cannot be blamed, however, for his failure to secure access to the Laurier Papers. He has shown admirably the influence of the reciprocity debacle on the American presidential election of 1912. He might have made a greater attempt to see the reciprocity failure in perspective by considering its general repercussions upon the whole course of British-Canadian and Canadian-American relations.

DONALD MASTERS.

The War behind the War, 1914-1918: A History of the Political and Civilian Fronts. By FRANK P. CHAMBERS. (New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1939, pp. xv, 620, \$3.75.) Published shortly before the outbreak of the present war in Europe, this book is of more than passing interest to the contemporary student. Mr. Chambers, a Canadian historian, has avowedly sought to give "a history of political affairs and of social and economic conditions in the belligerent countries" (p. vii) between 1914 and 1918. In this effort he has been remarkably successful. Excellent is his summary of the problem of the maintenance of

civilian morale in all the warring nations. Likewise, he shows in a masterful fashion the universal tendency towards a socialistic economy as it developed during the war, with especial emphasis on the German aspects of this matter. Again, he gives the reader extremely good analyses of domestic political affairs in such countries as Austria-Hungary and Russia, an understanding of which is imperative if military moves or foreign policies are properly to be evaluated. Finally, he makes a number of points in such matters as war aims and peace moves during the World War years which already seem anticipatory of current happenings. In addition to his lucid treatment of a mass of little-known and generally neglected materials, Chambers presents the reader with 236 notes, 5 maps, a twenty-eight page bibliography, and useful appendices and an index. Excellent as history or as background reading for current affairs, *The War behind the War* consistently manifests the good judgment and scholarly talents of its author.

JAMES DUANE SQUIRES.

Documents and Readings in the History of Europe since 1918. By WALTER CONSUELO LANGSAM, Union College, with the assistance of JAMES MICHAEL EAGAN, College of New Rochelle. (Chicago, Lippincott, 1939, pp. xxvii, 865, \$3.75.) This collection "includes treaties, pacts, conventions, constitutions, laws, court decisions, manifestoes, proclamations, party programs, authoritative narrative descriptions, speeches, examples of propaganda, and other items thought to be of interest and value in any serious study of the major developments in post-World War Europe."

The Day of the Liberals in Spain. By RHEA MARSH SMITH. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1938, pp. x, 341, \$3.50.) The recent Spanish republic and its vicissitudes, culminating in the civil war of 1936-39, attracted a vast deal of attention in this country, which was reflected in multitudinous writings. Some were quite informing and interesting, e.g., the best seller *Life and Death of a Spanish Town*; the great majority were extravagantly propagandist in one direction or another; only a few possessed any claims to scholarship. The volume under review belongs in the last-named group. It was prepared as a doctoral dissertation under Professor Lingelbach of the University of Pennsylvania, and the author is now an associate professor of history at Rollins College. After five background chapters, out of a total of twenty-one, the author plunges into his main theme, the formulation of the constitution of 1931, which is the year that he regards as peculiarly that "of the liberals in Spain". For this purpose he employs an excellent variety of materials, made up in the main of official Spanish publications, newspaper accounts (principally Spanish), and published commentaries (with emphasis on those emanating from Spanish writers). While still more evidence might have been obtained, especially if it had been possible to make an extended stay in Spain itself, Smith's work, nevertheless, represents a contribution to the study of the Spanish republic. It is objective and careful in method and, within a somewhat restricted field, has summarized a vast deal of material in a story that is well told. One criticism that might be made is that the author does not always explain the facts he presents so as to make them intelligible to an American public.

CHARLES E. CHAPMAN.

Alexander of Yugoslavia: The Story of the King who was murdered at Marseilles. By STEPHEN GRAHAM. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1939, pp. 329, \$3.00.) This is drama, a detective story of first order, as well as biography and history. Primary interest centers on the assassination plot—perpetrators, accomplices,

and consequences. Pending examination of Italian sources, this book will remain the authentic study of the crime. Originated by Croats, the plot received aid and support from Italians and Hungarians, while French and English duplicity obstructed the search for justice. Some new light is thrown upon domestic politics, but too little on the dictatorship. Unfortunately, Mr. Graham's chapter dealing with Alexander's foreign policy, his forte, is the weakest. There is nothing on the relationship with the Little Entente prior to 1933 and an inadequate background of the Balkan Entente. No allusion is made to other concurrent Pan-Balkan movements. Regrettably little information is supplied concerning Alexander's part in removing the Macedonian curse, possibly his greatest achievement. The book is based on Yugoslavian source material and on consultations with leading personages. The subject matter is treated fictionologically. Documentation references are lacking. American studies are not mentioned in the bibliography.

NORMAN J. PADEL FORD.

Anglo-Saxony and its Tradition. By GEORGE CATLIN. (New York, Macmillan, 1939, pp. xiv, 344, \$3.00.) Discussion of a plan for a world state.

Lost Liberty? The Ordeal of the Czechs and the Future of Freedom. By JOAN and JONATHAN GRIFFIN. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1939, pp. 289, \$2.50.)

L'homme d'état: Analyse de l'esprit politique. By JULES KORNIS, l'Université de Budapest. [Bibliothèque de philosophie contemporaine.] (Paris, Alcan, 1938, pp. 576, 60 fr.) This volume is essentially an academic restatement of the fascist doctrine of the leader who is proclaimed as the motive force of history. The method of treatment of the problem is as outmoded as the theme: it is essentially the arm-chair kind of philosophizing, neither critical history nor political science. To support his various obiter dicta about "statesmen" and to illustrate his remarks about the eros, will-power, sense of responsibility, force of suggestion, sense of realities, types of political soul, political intuition, etc., the author adduces what might be historical evidence. But he never stops to offer a reference to the authority for his statements, though they deal with the great men of history—Caesar and Napoleon, Bismarck and Cromwell, Richelieu and Lincoln. If you should happen to agree with M. Kornis before reading the book, you would no doubt agree with him afterwards. It resembles the reasoning of Pareto in its dependence upon anecdotal illustration as evidence for obvious generalities—although it is not preceded by a lot of sound and fury about statistics and quantitative method as the only basis for scientific insight. There is the same groveling admiration for the ruthless boys—the lions, in Machiavellian-Paretoan jargon—but 576 pages seem as unnecessary as two thousand for the purpose of making a few well-known points. I suspect that we owe the saving to the present author's willingness to use conventional language. There is this good point about the book: it can be read without learning a new vocabulary. Perhaps this is due to the fact that a professor in a fascist state can profess to adore the great man without fear.

CARL JOACHIM FRIEDRICH.

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ANCIENT HISTORY¹

T. R. S. Broughton

Paideia: The Ideals of Greek Culture. By WERNER JAEGER. Translated from the second German edition by Gilbert Highet. (Oxford, Blackwell, 1939, pp. xxix, 420, 15s.) Under the title, *Paideia*, defined by the author in his preface as "the shaping of the Greek character", Professor Jaeger presents a history of Greek culture as it found expression in the writers of classical Greece. Viewing these literary artists as the products as well as the spokesmen of the periods in which they lived, he portrays the cultural background from which their ideas sprang and the manner and purpose of their presentations. One would expect, however, more of that background than is to be found in this book, along with a broader treatment than is here given. Particularly to be regretted is the absence of any adequate treatment of Greek religion as a cultural force apart from the religious ideas of certain of the writers. Book I, entitled "Archaic Greece", treats of poets and philosophers from Homer to Pindar. Book II, "The Mind of Athens", portrays the great dramatists, the sophists, and Thucydides, closing with the fall of the Athenian Empire. A second volume is promised to carry on the story. Certain chapters are excellent. The discussion of Homer, the educator, is so very fine that it constitutes a strong argument for belief in that unity of the Homeric poems which the author carefully denies. The treatments of Hesiod, Solon, Pindar, Aeschylus, and the sophists are most suggestive. Herodotus seems to receive scant treatment, and there is room for much argument in the author's interpretation of Euripides. The chief criticism of the book is its extreme wordiness; the author constantly injects generalizations which are often repetitious and seem sometimes to lead to contradictions. It would have had much greater value for the general reader if it had been both

¹ Under this and the following headings unsigned notices are, in general, contributed by the persons whose names appear at the heads of the divisions and who are otherwise responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

shorter and clearer. Nevertheless it is a book of more than ordinary value. The translation is well done.

WALLACE E. CALDWELL.

A History of the Greek World from 323 to 146 B. C. By M. CARY. (New York, Macmillan, 1939, pp. xvi, 448, \$4.40.) This book, which was originally published in London in 1932 as Volume III of Methuen's History of the Greek and Roman World under the general editorship of M. Cary and in New York by the Dial Press (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVIII, 725), has been reissued as Volume III of Macmillan's History of the Greek and Roman World, with the same general editor.

Etruscan Perugia. By CHANDLER SHAW. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1939, pp. xiii, 102, plates xvi, \$2.75.) This volume, based on excavation reports and study of widely scattered archaeological finds, is a valuable supplement to earlier histories of Perugia, which have paid too little attention to the Etruscan period. In the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., with which the book is primarily concerned, the city was a notable Etruscan center, controlling a considerable territory which shared its individual culture, and it affords a sound opportunity for a cross section of Etruscan life. Mr. Shaw's painstaking reconstruction of the external aspects of the city, its monumental architecture and lesser remains, and the public and private life of its people brings within reach of the general student of ancient Italy much valuable material. The chapter on "The Necropolises and the Cult of the Dead" is a well-documented study that illustrates notable characteristics of Etruscan religious beliefs. The flowering of an essentially Etruscan culture at such sites as this throughout the fifth and fourth centuries, with Hellenistic influence playing a minor though substantial part, and its persistence during the third and second centuries, despite the "economic vassalage" to Rome which had already begun, remind us how slowly the diverse peoples of Italy were merged into the pattern of Roman municipalization. After Octavian's victory in the Perusine War in 40 B.C. a Roman colony rose from the ashes of the old city, which had become a *municipium* half a century earlier. But the great gates still stand as conspicuous memorials of the Etruscan heritage of Perugia. One hopes that Mr. Shaw's project of publishing a supplementary volume of indexes and tables of tombs, bilingual inscriptions, etc., may be fulfilled in the interest of specialists. In the meantime, the general reader will find his needs well met by the present volume. EVA MATTHEWS SANFORD.

Histoire de Rome. By ANDRÉ PIGANIOL. (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1939, pp. li, 576, 75 fr.) This remarkably compact volume is the prize work in the Clio Collection planned in 1937 by Robert Cohen. This collection, unfortunately not very well known in the United States, comprises "manuals" which, according to the late rector of the Sorbonne, S. Charlety, in his preface to the first volume, are to initiate the student in the application of the critical method to his college studies. Envidable the college which can require its students to use such manuals in their daily work. There are two essential elements in Piganiol's book: first, a general bibliography indicating (often with the author's critical comments) the chief works on all periods of Roman history and on the various branches of that history; secondly, notes appended to each chapter, forming more than half the volume, which contain source material and a bibliography covering special problems (based principally on periodical literature and often accompanied by critical comments). In addition, most of these notes have an appendix entitled "État des questions", a synopsis of the most important and controversial problems of Roman history (for instance, the

Twelve Tables, the Collapse of Rome, etc.; the author's own point of view follows the concise résumé of each problem). The accuracy and completeness of the notes are remarkable. The impression must not be given that this is purely a reference work devoid of broad views and interesting general ideas. On the contrary, it abounds in them and takes a firm stand on many fundamental problems of Roman history. Thus, for instance, Piganiol, in accord with Carcopino and Rostovtzeff, rejects the thesis dear to many Italian historians that the incorporation of foreigners in the Roman state had fatal consequences for its future. The volume should become a desk book for every student of Roman history.

MICHAEL GINSBURG.

Mob Violence in the Late Roman Republic, 133-49 B. C. By JOHN WESLEY HEATON. [Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences.] (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1939, pp. 107, \$1.50.)

Brutus et la fin de la République. By GÉRARD WALTER. [Bibliothèque historique.] (Paris, Payot, 1938, pp. 270, 30 fr.)

Industry and Commerce of the City of Rome (50 B. C.-200 A. D.). By HELEN JEFFERSON LOANE. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1938, pp. 158, xiv, \$1.50.)

Archaeology and the New Testament. By STEPHEN L. CAIGER. (New York, Macmillan, 1939, pp. x, 194, \$1.40.) This brief introduction to the study of archaeological discoveries bearing on the New Testament is the sequel of the author's *Bible and Spade* (New York, 1936), which dealt with the Old Testament. In nine chapters he discusses the archaeology of the New Testament, the supposed relics of Jesus, the Mediterranean cities in the first century A.D. (particularly Jerusalem and other Palestinian cities mentioned in the Gospels and the cities visited by St. Paul in his journeys), Greek and Latin inscriptions and papyri dating from the centuries immediately preceding and following the beginning of our era, early manuscripts of the New Testament and of apocryphal gospels, and the like. The author has written a good simple introduction, suitable for undergraduates but without scholarly pretensions. The illustrations are excellent and well chosen, and the bibliography is adequate for novices. The author dates the birth of Jesus in 8 B.C. but says that he was about thirty years of age in A.D. 26. Much of the material is derived from two much fuller treatments of the subject, C. M. Cobern's *The New Archaeological Discoveries* (New York, 1917; last ed. 1924) and A. Deissmann's *Light from the Ancient East* (New York, 1910; 2d ed., 1927).

ROBERT H. PFEIFFER.

The New Deal in Old Rome: How Government in the Ancient World tried to deal with Modern Problems. By H. J. HASKELL. (New York, Knopf, 1939, pp. xii, 258, xi, \$2.50.) A self-termed amateur with whom reading in ancient history is presumably a hobby attempts here to formulate his own ideas concerning the destiny of ancient Rome. Impressed by J. H. Breasted's confession that he "dug up at least a dozen" New Deals in the ancient world, the author, editor of the *Kansas City Star*, who is thoroughly at home with the New Deal alphabet, embarks on an adventure which has attracted a great many persons before him, that of drawing parallels between the past and the present, "calling attention to certain signals" as he goes. The result is a heterogeneous omnibus of facts, names, dates, quotations, anecdotes, and homely witticisms thrown together unsystematically and often flavored with pungent slang obviously intended to make them more palatable to that "ordinary reader" whom the author has in mind.

MICHAEL GINSBURG.

I documenti Costantiniani della "Vita Constantini" di Eusebio di Cesarea. By R. D. IRENEO DANIELE. [Analecta Gregoriana.] (Rome, Gregorian University, 1938, pp. xiii, 226, 15 l.) Professor Daniele's work is a sign of the reaction from the extreme skepticism with which it has been the fashion to treat the literary sources of the late Roman Empire in the last sixty years. After considering the edicts, letters, speeches, etc., attributed by Eusebius to Constantine in the *Vita Constantini*, he comes to the conclusion that they were just what Eusebius said they were. After some fifty-seven pages of introduction devoted to a general statement of the character of the work and its manuscript tradition, the author begins the presentation of his case. His first point, based upon the known character of Eusebius as a historian and upon various grounds of internal evidence, is that Eusebius himself could not have forged the documents. He then asserts that Constantine and no one else was their author. The emperor, he shows, was well educated after the manner of his time and was a prolific writer. Various collections of his letters and edicts made in the century after his death resemble each other and the documents of the *Vita* in form and language. The imperial chancellery in the fourth century had a peculiar and characteristic literary style very difficult to counterfeit. The documents preserved by Eusebius are written in it, except where there is reason to believe that they are the work of the emperor himself. To prove this point he considers them one by one and *in extenso*. The last forty-four pages are devoted to a refutation of hostile critics like Crivellucci, Seeck, Schultze, *et al.* and to an effective conclusion. The doubts of the present reviewer have not all been exorcised, but Professor Daniele presents a very strong case. The book is well printed and has an adequate bibliography and footnotes. C. E. VAN SICKLE.

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 J. G. MILNE. Early Roman Coinage. *Class. Rev.*, Sept.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

G. C. Boyce

Beda's Pseudepigrapha: Scientific Writings Falsely attributed to Bede. By CHARLES W. JONES. (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1939, pp. xv, 154, \$3.00.) As a prelude to an edition of Bede's computational writings Professor Jones has written this book with the hope that it may clear away "some of the repeated misinformation of the past few centuries" and make Bede's true work stand out the more distinctly. After an account of the printed editions (those of Sichardus, 1529; Noviomagus, 1537; Herbagius, 1563; Giles, 1843; Migne's

Patrologia Latina, 1850) Dr. Jones plunges into his main task: the consideration of the various works that are attributed to Bede in *Pat. Lat.* XC. Under the heading *Didascalia Genuina* are listed nine works attributed to Bede, of which four are authentic; *Didascalia Dubia et Spuria* is a considerably longer section. There follow brief notes on metrical writings that are attributed to Bede in *Pat. Lat.* XCIV and appear in computistical manuscripts, five appendixes, an extremely useful index and description of manuscripts, an index of citations from *Pat. Lat.*, and a general index. So far as the reviewer is able to judge, Professor Jones has competently performed what he set out to do. He has made a contribution toward the establishment of a canon of Bede's writings; more than that, the data he sets forth will serve as guideposts to students of medieval science. Careful scrutiny shows that there is a large amount of information, the fruit of much labor, here given in compressed form. No consistency is shown in the matter of the information relegated to footnotes, and I wish that Professor Jones had not passed by, with mere mention, the question of John Bale's responsibility for the attribution to Bede of numerous works of which he was not the author; the omission is hardly atoned for by the footnote reference to *Medium Aevum*, VII, 82-97.

ALFRED H. SWEET.

Mohammed and Charlemagne. By HENRI PIRENNE. Translated by Bernard Miall. (New York, Norton, 1939, pp. 293, \$3.50.) Although the translation is in general adequate, this edition is marred by too many errors of transcription and faulty proofreading in the footnotes. The transcription of names seems to be based on no sound principle, and English readers will be confused by a recurrent use of French forms for persons and places having English equivalents. The French edition was reviewed in this journal, Volume XLIV (January, 1939), pages 324-25.

A History of Europe from 911 to 1198. By Z. N. BROOKE. [History of Medieval and Modern Europe.] (New York, Putnam's, 1939, pp. xx, 553, \$6.50.) For purposes of clarity and unity the author has planned this volume on the basis of three main themes treated in four chronological periods. The empire (developing subsequently into consideration of the empire and the papacy), Christianity and Islam, and the rise of France are the basic subjects around which he writes an account that is, except for two chapters toward the end of the book, almost entirely political. In these two chapters are discussed the significant trends in cultural, social, and economic life, first from the standpoint of the church and secondly from that of the laity. Mr. Brooke's style is very readable and often entertaining because of his capacity for perspicacious observations. Occasionally, however, he uses words rather loosely, leading to statements that include or exclude, no doubt, more than the author intended or that leave the meaning in some doubt. There are instances of poor usage of pronouns, careless spelling of proper names (Calmaldoli for Camaldoli), and sometimes of repetition, as in the reference on page 40 and again on page 50 to the embassies sent to Otto I. There is also reason to question some of the author's statements, notably his treatment of the philosophy of the struggle between church and state, into which he does not seem to have penetrated adequately. It is not altogether true that the church was hostile to marriage and advocated general celibacy. He still labors under the old view of scholasticism when he notes the change from the "vigorous but experimental thought of the twelfth century to the scholasticism of the thirteenth" (p. 389). Bernard of Hildesheim quite certainly was not "perhaps responsible for Otto III's worship of Charlemagne".

FRANCIS J. TSCHAN.

An Essay on English Monasteries. By ROSE GRAHAM. (London, published for the Historical Association by G. Bell and Sons, 1939, pp. 40, 2s.) It is pleasant to see a revised and enlarged version of this little pamphlet, which appeared originally in 1913. It is a short sketch of English monks and regular canons as historians, architects, and financiers from the Norman conquest to the middle of the fourteenth century. Included are ground plans of typical Cluniac, Cistercian, Gilbertine, and Carthusian priories. HELEN ROBBINS BITTERMANN.

Les Bénédictins et l'ordre de Cluny dans la Pologne médiévale. By PIERRE DAVID. [Publications du Centre franco-polonais de recherches historiques de Cracovie.] (Paris, Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres", 1939, pp. xxv, 113, 30 fr.) Poland's intellectual renaissance in the past few years has been worthy of remark among scholars. In addition to the recent foundation of monographic series devoted to economics and philosophy the Centre franco-polonais de recherches historiques de Cracovie, created in 1937, planned to publish a series of monographs, of which this volume is the first. It traces the successive waves of Benedictine and Cluniac monachism in Poland from the introduction of Christianity in the third quarter of the tenth century, when Cluniac influence was carried by individual monks, to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when the influence of Cluny on Polish monasteries was marked. In chapter v, in which M. David traces the theory of Cluniac influence, he formulates a careful statement of the exact relationship of Cluny to the Polish monasteries which alone would justify the appearance of this little monograph.

HELEN ROBBINS BITTERMANN.

The Golden Middle Age. By ROGER LLOYD. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1939, pp. xii, 255, \$3.50.) The chief merit of this book is that it was written by an "amateur" whose only qualification for writing it comes from an odd fondness for reading about life in the twelfth century. That the author has read wisely and with understanding is immediately apparent to anyone who follows his well-written, swiftly moving narrative from beginning to end. Primarily the book aims to depict the scholar's life in this golden age and to trace the developments of education from the Carolingian school to the university, but to give a well-rounded story chapters on the social background and the twelfth century church are included. John of Salisbury is the hero of the story, as he was meant to be, but he shares the stage with Abelard and the masters of Chartres, all of whom are described with exceptional clarity. The book is obviously one for the general reader or for students who are beginners, and great care should have been taken not to use the materials of one age to explain the facts of another. Canon Lloyd frequently relies on the fourteenth century Richard de Bury to enhance his story of an earlier age and, it seems, tends to see more of thirteenth century practice in the schools of twelfth century Paris than most scholars would be willing to admit. British usage will explain certain allusions and turns of phrase unfamiliar to American readers, yet even advanced students will be confused by the spelling of medieval proper names. Why, for instance, should Robert de *Sourbon* (with the reference to Haskins!), William of *Champeau*, Gilbert *Porée*, and Otto of *Freisingen* be preferred to the more familiar forms now accepted as standard? These, however, are minor faults in a book which claims little and achieves much.

Notre-Dame of Noyon in the Twelfth Century: A Study in the Early Development of Gothic Architecture. By CHARLES SEYMOUR, JR. [Yale Historical Publications.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1939, pp. xx, 202, \$7.00.) This

study of "the program, structure and esthetic" of Noyon Cathedral is a new and welcome bridge across the gulf which sometimes opens between historians of society and historians of art. Laon, Noyon, and Saint-Denis are the great twelfth century cathedrals of the first Gothic style in France. The author uses new documentary and architectural evidence to establish a chronology for the three phases of early Gothic style discernible at Noyon, creating thereby also the outlines of the "relatively active artistic mentality" of the region responsible for the cathedral. He then examines the building according to the contemporary interpretation of Gothic as design in terms of space and light, as compared with Viollet-le-Duc's emphasis upon logical mechanical structure. Hinting at the importance of imponderables, he forces himself to discuss the esthetic of Noyon only in terms of measurable visual effects. Mr. Seymour's analysis reflects the sure guidance of the two eminent Yale professors from Paris, M. Marcel Aubert of the École des Chartes and M. Henri Focillon of the Collège de France. Not the least persuasive part of the book is the foreword, in which the two professors interpret the contribution of American scholars to medieval studies and through which shines the faith of these masters in their students. The scrupulous respect for evidence and the support of the text by excellent plates and a carefully critical bibliography deserve praise. The absence of the imaginative romanticism which afflicts many essays on Gothic values and the minimum of self-conscious doctoral pedantry are good omens for the next volumes in this series. A simpler, easier style might increase the reader's pleasure. The fine logic of the contents is perfectly matched in the format designed by the Yale University Press.

ELEANOR PATTERSON SPENCER.

Les hérésies du moyen âge. By EMMANUEL AEGERTER. [Mythes et religions.] (Paris, Leroux, 1939, pp. xii, 154, 15 fr.)

Calendar of the Fine Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office. Volume XVIII, Henry VI, A. D. 1445-1452. (London, H. M. Stationery Office; New York, British Library of Information, 1939, pp. vii, 399, \$6.50.) Although relatively unimportant for political history, the fine rolls contain information valuable to the historian of administration and finance. On these rolls are recorded the appointments of officers of the crown, of sheriffs, escheators, collectors of parliamentary taxes, and of collectors of the customs and of the alnage. Sometimes the writ of commission to the collectors describes with elaborate detail the nature and extent of the tax. The record of orders and commitments throws light on the duties of the office of the escheatry and on the disposal of lands in the king's hands through forfeiture, escheat, wardship, or an ecclesiastical vacancy. The text of the present volume has been prepared by Mr. P. V. Davies, editor of the five preceding volumes, and maintains the same standard of excellence. The general index, which occupies nearly a third of the volume, has been compiled by Mr. R. E. Latham, a newcomer. It is these general indexes, detailed and complete, which have made the volumes of this series so usable. Abbeys named in the text are listed, as are also castles, chantries, priories, honors, hundreds, lordships, forests, parks. A glossary of English and Latin words is included; there is a list of trades and occupations and another of tenures. A special list of manors concludes the volume. Of particular interest are the appointments in 1446 of commissions for each county to determine the just distribution among the impoverished towns of the county of the sums deductible from the last parliamentary grant of a fifteenth and a tenth. The exact amount to be deducted from the total levy of each county was specified, but the commission was empowered to determine the distribution within the county itself.

It would be interesting to know the manner and the method by which the first sum was ascertained and even more interesting to discover the results of the commissioners' inquiries.

ISABEL R. ABBOTT.

The Port Books or Local Customs Accounts of Southampton for the Reign of Edward IV. Edited by D. B. QUINN with the assistance of A. A. RUDDOCK. Volume II, 1477-1481. [Publications of the Southampton Record Society.] (Southampton, Cox and Sharland, 1938, pp. xlii, 105-226, 28s.) The second volume of the port books of Southampton for the reign of Edward IV contains a calendar of three volumes of local Southampton customs accounts for the years 1477-78 and 1480-81, an appendix of royal customs accounts for Southampton for 1461, 1463-64, 1471, and 1472-73, and tables of Venetian, Genoese, and Florentine ships that are identifiable as having visited England between 1461 and 1483. Dr. Quinn's introduction is the best account yet published of the trade of the Italian cities of Venice, Genoa, and Florence with England during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. F. C. DIETZ.

Progress of Medieval Studies in the United States and Canada. Bulletin No. 14. By S. HARRISON THOMSON, Professor of Medieval History, University of Colorado. (Boulder, University of Colorado, 1939, pp. 74, 40 cents.) "Several changes have been introduced into the present Bulletin. Standard abbreviations for titles, places and periodicals are used to a greater extent than formerly, purely as a space saver. . . . An index by general fields of interest has been added, which, it is hoped, will be useful for reference."

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MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

F. H. Herrick

Elizabethan England. By FRANKLIN B. WILLIAMS, JR. [Text for Illustrative Set No. 1, Museum Extension Publications, prepared under the Direction of Anne Holliday Webb, Supervisor, Division of Museum Extension.] (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1939, portfolio consisting of text of pp. 32, plates 41. \$5.00.) This is the first published set of "a series of books designed to be used primarily by teachers and students of history, literature and languages". The plates undertake to illustrate important aspects of English life in Elizabethan England; the accompanying text "has been prepared for the use of teachers who may wish to secure in convenient form the basic material for a lecture on the selected plates". The text calls for some amendment. It is hardly adequate, for example, to dismiss the Puritans with the statement that "the Bible, preaching, and moral living were the sum of their religion". It is not true that the great Armada was decisively defeated by the English, and certainly not true that it was wrecked by terrific storms "up the North Sea". The plates, printed in collotype, are for the most part entirely familiar. On the whole, they are not well done. The blacks are too heavy in the portraits and the details lost in many of the others. They are nothing like so clear or useful as the illustrations in *Shakespeare's England*, nor are they so well selected. Many important aspects of English life are completely ignored. It is easy to ask too much, but certainly a panorama of Elizabethan life which ignores the soldier, the merchant adventurer, the horseman, the tramp, and the musician is hardly satisfying. We suggest that in the future more attention be paid to historical accuracy in the descriptive matter, more breadth of interest be displayed in the selection of illustrative material, and better printing be striven for in the reproductions. The idea is an excellent one and deserves every encouragement. But we have a right to expect better workmanship from the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

CONYERS READ.

Sir John Yorke of Nidderdale, 1565-1634. By CHRISTOPHER HOWARD, Assistant Lecturer in Modern History, King's College, London. (London, Sheed and Ward, 1939, pp. vii, 71, 3s. 6d.) "This small book is based on the MSS. of the proceedings of the Court of Star Chamber, preserved in the Public Record Office. It does not claim to be a study of more than a small corner of the history of recusancy."

The Sun at Noon. Three Biographical Sketches: Elizabeth Cary, Viscountess Falkland, 1585-1639; Lucius Cary, Viscount Falkland, 1610-1643; John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, 1647-1680. By KENNETH B. MURDOCK. (New York, Macmillan, 1939, pp. viii, 327, \$2.75.) Professor Murdock has sought to capture the spirit of the seventeenth century in these biographical sketches. He has chosen for his purpose Elizabeth Cary, Viscountess Falkland, her son, Lucius Cary, Viscount Falkland, and John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester. In these three characters, so profoundly different in their tastes, morals, and mundane aspira-

tions, the author discovers a central passion—the search for truth. The boisterous enthusiasm, the almost naïve confidence, of the Elizabethan era gave way very early in the seventeenth century to a sobriety that betokened grave uncertainties on the part of sensitive and responsible men. Men sought security in their own souls with the hope that they might discover peace for the nation and the church as well. Though the crisis of war could not be averted, though fanaticism and reaction were to engulf the foundations of reason which men of moderate temper desperately sought to lay, it must still be said that Falkland and his circle faced the issues of their century, indeed the principal issues of modern society, with honesty, poise, and nobility of temper. Professor Murdock lends thoughtful attention to the tortuous spiritual strivings of the eccentric Elizabeth Cary and skillfully diagnoses the moral bankruptcy that could never quite destroy the hard core of Wilmot's mind. But Falkland is the hero of his piece. Here he makes a scholarly contribution of the first order, principally because he approaches the complex and sensitive character of the man with a broad and sympathetic knowledge of the century in which Falkland lived. With a brilliant and moving style Professor Murdock depicts for us a man whose toughness of mind and rectitude of character could not quite be consumed by fanaticism, war, and death.

W. K. JORDAN.

Tanger und die britische Reichsbildung. By HEINRICH WIEGAND PETZET. (Berlin, Junker und Dünhaupt, 1938, pp. 155, 7 M.)

Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts relating to English Affairs existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice and in Other Libraries of Northern Italy. Volume XXXVII, 1671-1672. Edited by ALLEN B. HINDS. [Issued by the Authority of the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury under the Direction of the Master of the Rolls.] (London, H. M. Stationery Office; New York, British Library of Information, 1939, pp. lvi, 439, \$7.15.) The present volume deals with the period January 2, 1671 to December 31, 1672. The Venetian minister in London was the secretary Girolamo Alberti, whose observations on English affairs are uniformly interesting. He is mainly concerned with the problems arising out of Charles II's secret understanding with Louis XIV. He contributes a full budget of news on his own account, but as for foreign policy, he does not thrust forward his own interpretation of Charles's motives. He is no inventor of rumors. He prefers, rather, to send to his superiors information brought to him and interpretations offered to him by others. In consequence the story that takes form is full, varied, and dispassionate. A welcome item in the volume is a *relazione* of Piero Mocenigo—one of the descriptions of English affairs presented to the doge and senate from time to time. Mocenigo, who had been ambassador from 1668 to 1670, gives much prominence to English economic affairs, describing in some detail trading practices and organization. He is full of wonder that there are no beggars in London and that "they do not know what economy is in that country".

F. G. MARCHAM.

England under George I. By WOLFGANG MICHAEL. Volume II, *The Quadruple Alliance*. Translated and adapted from the German by Annemarie MacGregor and George E. MacGregor. [Studies in Modern History, General Editor, L. B. Namier.] (New York, Macmillan, 1939, pp. vi, 347, \$7.00.) This volume covers three years in the history of England, from the spring of 1717 to the spring of 1720. The author treats with characteristic thoroughness such subjects as domestic politics, the Quadruple Alliance and the war with Spain, the Stuart

cause, and the interests of England in the Baltic. The volume ends with the coming to power of Robert Walpole. As it is condensed into roughly two thirds as many words as the original (*Das Zeitalter Walpole's*, Erster Teil, 1920), the student who has access only to the English version may well inquire what has been omitted, but neither here nor in the first volume will he find any indication of the nature and extent of the adaptation. Only a careful collation would show definitely how much may have been lost in the process of compressing the subject matter. The rather superficial comparison made by this reviewer suggests that nothing of significance has been omitted and that there has been a decided gain in clarity and objectivity. The most extreme case of cutting is to be found in chapter x, on "England and the Northern Powers", but even here the essentials remain, and the translators appear to have been faithful to the author's intentions. Professor Michael's style is far from compact and lends itself well to judicious condensation through the elimination of repetition, unnecessary questions, and long, discursive transitions. The English edition omits two items from the appendix but makes one addition. Technically it is far superior to the German edition. The omission of an index from the latter has been made good, and the form of the citations has been greatly improved.

DORA MAE CLARK.

Caroline of Ansbach, George the Second's Queen. By R. L. ARKELL. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1939, pp. xiv, 338, \$4.25.) In a volume much less than half the length of H. W. Wilkins's *Caroline the Illustrious* Mrs. Arkell presents a clear, factual account of George the Second's queen. In it there is little of the romance, imagination, and "psychology" so common today in popular biographies, and the author does not permit undue enthusiasm for Caroline to distort her portrait. The historian familiar with the printed studies and materials of the period will not find much, either in fact or interpretation, to conflict with generally accepted viewpoints. On the disputed subject of the quarrel between Prince Frederick and his parents Mrs. Arkell supports the view that the causes were obvious and almost inevitable in the political circumstances, refuting the contention that his parents, for some mysterious reason, hated the prince from his birth. Most of the best recent works relating to her subject have been used by the author, and researches in the archives at The Hague, Berlin, Hanover, Vienna, and Windsor have brought to light letters that add interesting details and personal side lights. The book is satisfactory and welcome as a sound, readable story of Caroline's career.

CHARLES B. REALEY.

The North Briton: A Study in Political Propaganda. By GEORGE NOBBE. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1939, pp. ix, 274, \$3.00.) This is a study in one of the pregnant periods of English history. During the days of the *North Briton* the attitudes were developing that precipitated the American Revolution. In addition it was a critical time of fruition in the long struggle for English freedom. The subtitle of the book describes the limits of the study, limits to which the author carefully confines himself. This reader often wished that he had not held to his self-imposed boundaries so rigidly. The author closely follows the tribulations of journalism in a period of emerging freedom. Bribery, intimidation, and two duels are part of the story of John Wilkes's *North Briton*. Political propaganda worked under political handicaps now unknown in our democratic countries. The publication was always anonymous. When legal proceedings were brought against it they were instituted by means of a general warrant. This at once brought the issue of the liberty of the sub-

ject into question. Number 45, with its violent attack on the speech from the throne, put a forced draft under the growing conception that "ministers are responsible for the contents of the royal speech". Wilkes is given sympathetic treatment throughout. He has commonly been styled a demagogue, and Professor Nobbe does not offer conclusive evidence to the contrary. He does, however, give proof that he was a clear-visioned, courageous, aggressive fighter for freedoms that are an essential part of our democratic inheritance.

FRED J. HINKHOUSE.

An Eighteenth-Century Industrialist: Peter Stubs of Warrington, 1756-1806. By T. S. ASHTON. (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1939, pp. x, 156, 8s. 6d.) This addition to the intimate studies of early business records in the north of England has a distinctive flavor and general interest as well as value for business history. The records left by Peter Stubs reveal his connections with other filemakers and with financiers, suppliers of materials, carriers, and the various industries that used his files. The author has found opportunities for many incidental thumbnail sketches. Particularly interesting is the account of Stubs as innkeeper and brewer, in which is described the curious connection between brewing and filemaking—the use of beer-barrel dregs ("barm-bottoms") combined with malt dust as a paste to cover the files at a certain stage in filemaking. Although the file was a tool and not a machine and was made mainly by hand processes, filemaking was influenced by the trends in the newer mechanized industries. Stubs's business illustrates, for example, the transitional stages from outwork or the merchant-employer system to factory organization. The industry had a peculiar relation to modern techniques. The early machines, made before the age of machine tools and precision instruments, gave an impetus to the use of files. Thus, every spindle had to be filed to insure smooth operation. Later improvements in the making of machines, such as milling and grinding and methods of standardizing parts with precision, greatly restricted the use of the file as a tool and at the same time completed the mechanization of filemaking.

WITT BOWDEN.

Henry Grattan and his Times. By STEPHEN GWYNN. (London, George G. Harrap, 1939, pp. viii, 402, 15s.) The history of Ireland since the passing of the Act of Union forms a strange commentary on the career of Henry Grattan, and it is perhaps not surprising, in the light of that history, that his achievement and his ideal should have little meaning for most of his countrymen at the present time. Neither in Eire, where independence has been carried far beyond what he desired, nor in Ulster, where the descendants of some of those who supported him now cling obstinately to what remains of the union which he opposed, is his name much more than a memory. Grattan has suffered the fate of the moderate whose appeal is to reason in a situation where reason is obscured by passion and prejudice. Mr. Gwynn's admirable biography should do something to correct the balance. That he has written with that object in mind is evident, and the portrait which he here presents must command the respect of all who can appreciate the ideal of national unity and free association within the empire. His sympathy with his subject has not blinded him to certain obvious shortcomings. With the exception of a diary of Sir Lawrence Parsons, which throws some light on the relations of the Irish patriots with Lord Fitzwilliam, Mr. Gwynn has used no new material. He has made extensive use of Irish newspapers, and from these he gives a vivid sketch of the changing currents of opinion in the years of Grattan's Parliament. The interest of the book is enhanced by a number of excellent portraits and caricatures. It

has no footnotes, but there is a good index, and the source of much of the material is indicated pretty clearly in the text. D. J. McDUGALL.

The Life of S. T. Coleridge: The Early Years. By LAWRENCE HANSON. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1939, pp. 575, \$5.00.) Mr. Hanson's biography of Coleridge is the best that has appeared. It is superior to earlier studies in thoroughness, in its balanced interpretation of the character of Coleridge, in literary style, and in its occasional touches of humor. Several relatively recent studies of Coleridge, though well done, have exhibited limitations which Hanson carefully avoids. To cite but two examples, his biography lacks the impressionism of Charpentier's *Coleridge, the Sublime Somnambulist* and portrays the mystery of Coleridge's personality without the dual personality characterization of Potter's *Coleridge and S.T.C.* The book has a unity even though it does not go beyond 1800 and ends with Coleridge only twenty-eight years old. This unity is possible because the period 1797-99 marks a turning point in Coleridge's life. After this the paths he will follow are evident. Already visible are faint outlines of that later Coleridge who would have seemed unbelievable to his friends during the pantisocratic days: Coleridge, the enlightened conservative and ardent defender of the national church. By 1800 Coleridge has repudiated his early necessitarian creed and is seeking a philosophy which unites art and religion, head and heart, or, in his own phrase, understanding and reason. "The Ancient Mariner", "Christabel", and "Kubla Khan" have been written, and in the shaping power of the imagination Coleridge believes he has discovered a clue which, when followed, will bring him to his hoped-for synthesis. His thoughts are leading him toward the philosophy of Schelling and Kant. Again, by 1800 Coleridge has met most of the associates who played a prominent part in his life: the Wordsworths, the Wedgewoods, Poole, Stuart, Southey. Readers of this opening volume of Hanson's completed biography will look forward to the publication of the volume or volumes covering the remaining thirty-four years of Coleridge's life. CYRIL K. GLOYN.

Gandhi Triumphant! The Inside Story of the Historic Fast [1939]. By HARIDAS T. MUZUMDAR. (New York, Universal Publishing Company, 1939, pp. x, 103, \$1.00.)

The British War Blue Book: Miscellaneous No. 9 (1939), Documents concerning German-Polish Relations and the Outbreak of Hostilities between Great Britain and Germany on September 3, 1939. Presented by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to Parliament by Command of His Majesty. Published in the United States by permission of the Controller of His Britannic Majesty's Stationery Office. (New York, Farrar and Rinehart, 1939, pp. xxxiv, 251, \$1.15.) The publishers state that the text of this collection of documents is identical with that of the original *British Blue Book*. They supply without additional charge the "Final Report" by Sir Neville Henderson "on the circumstances leading to the Termination of his Mission to Berlin, September 20, 1939". This report is classified as a "British White Paper, Germany No. 1 (1939)", and the pages are numbered 251-282.

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FRANCE, BELGIUM, AND THE NETHERLANDS

S. B. Clough

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- Le Duc de Montmorency Luxembourg, premier baron chrétien de France, fondateur du Grand Orient: Sa vie et ses archives*. By PAUL FILLEUL. Preface by Bernard Faÿ. [L'âme de la Révolution.] (Paris, Labergerie, 1939, pp. 332, 45 fr.) An account of a prominent Free Mason who refused to join the revolutionaries.
- Souvenirs de la Duchesse d'Uzès, née Mortemart*. Préface de son petit-fils, le Comte de Cossé-Brissac. (Paris, Plon, 1939, pp. xxxix, 203, 20 fr.)
- Vie privée de Napoléon*. By OCTAVE AUBRY. [Collection "L'histoire".] (Paris, Flammarion, 1939, pp. x, 442, 25 fr.) Aubry undertook this new work on Napoleon with a double aim: to disengage and reconstruct his character, as a normal man, from the events of his daily life and to suggest how far his personal tastes and relationships influenced his political career. The result is an entertaining popular biography, rich with anecdotes, lucid in its exposition, and full of sympathy and admiration for "the Man". If a book was needed to demonstrate that Napoleon possessed many simple, humane, and amiable traits, Aubry was the person to write it. He is less successful in calculating the political effects of the emperor's nepotism, and his analysis of motives and situations is in general conventional and oversimplified. GEOFFREY BRUUN.

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NORTHERN EUROPE

O. J. Falnes

Sweden: A Modern Democracy on Ancient Foundations. By NILS HERLITZ. (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1939, pp. xiii, 127, \$2.00.) This is the best treatment in any language of government in Sweden that has come to my attention. It covers, in a brief compass, a surprisingly broad category of pertinent matters, ranging all the way from the "constitutional state" some three centuries ago to judicial review of public administration today. Except for occasional minor lapses, the perspective and idiom satisfy the needs of readers who are not already familiar with Swedish history or the manner in which government operates in our day. The chapter on "The Service State" is, incidentally, of exceptional interest to all who have come to think of Sweden as a country in which an unusual degree of controlled capitalism exists. The analysis it presents is far different from the accounts given in recent years by foreign observers strong in enthusiasm and weak in pertinent knowledge.

JOHN H. WUORINEN.

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GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, AND HUNGARY

E. N. Anderson

Livland im politischen Willen Herzog Albrechts von Preussen: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Herzogtums Preussen und des preussisch-livländischen Verhältnisses 1525-1540. By Dr. HANS QUEDNAU. [Deutschland und der Osten.] (Leipzig, S. Hirzel, 1939, pp. xii, 201, 9 M.) The old question whether trade follows the flag or the flag follows trade need never arise concerning the German book trade. It does both. It records and glorifies the achievements of those who carry the flag; and, unless the remarkable timeliness of many of its recent publications is a result of fortunate coincidence only, it has often run ahead

of the flag and helped to prepare the way for it by directing the attention of the reading public to regions where old German interests are about to be revived. Elaborate histories of the German interest in the areas adjacent to Germany have increased in number as the will to possess (or to repossess) those areas has become more articulate. Austria and Czechoslovakia had their share of attention a few years ago. While appeasement was in the air German students were studying the failure of the German-British alliance project of 1898-1901. More recently colonial history has had its turn, and a university institute at Frankfort on the Main has been working on Alsace-Lorraine. Looking eastward, the seminars did not wait for the soldiers. The *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* are now completing their third year, and Dr. Quednau's book is one of a series on "Deutschland und der Osten", three volumes of which were reviewed by Professor Edgar Johnson in this journal a year ago (XLIV, 332). Dr. Quednau's thesis is that Duke Albert of Prussia never ceased to consider himself a German prince, faithful to the Empire though a vassal of the king of Poland, or to act as a German Protestant in his none too peaceful relations with the Livonian branch of the Order of the Teutonic Knights.

CHESTER V. EASUM.

Mémoires et documents publiés par la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Genève. Tome XXXVI. (Geneva, Jullien, 1938, pp. 362.) This volume contains the "Journal de la guerre, faite autour de Genève, l'an 1590" ascribed to the learned minister of St. Gervais in Geneva, Simon Goulart. This extensive diary, edited and annotated by Albert Choisy, is a welcome addition to our sources of the history of Geneva in that crucial year. Though the journal records very largely local events, and though Geneva and Savoy did not form the chief battle front in the confessional wars of that period, it throws some light on the general European scene as well. The second article, "Les ordonnances somptuaires à Genève au xvi^e siècle" by M. L. de Gallatin, is of great interest. Similar laws had been passed before by other cities, but the author shows that it was Calvin who introduced them in Geneva. There is a great deal of new and neglected material in the treatment of the origins of these laws in Geneva though the article is not the last word in the study of puritan discipline. The volume is concluded by the publication of the notes of the city treasurer dealing with the entry of Margaret of Austria into Geneva in 1501. HAJO HOLBORN.

La vie privée de Frédéric II. By PIERRE LAFUE. [Collection "Les vies privées".] (Paris, Hachette, 1939, pp. 251, 18 fr.) The reading time of this deftly joined series of gossipy chatter and impressionistic pictures is about two hours. From the point of view of amusing entertainment, this is not excessive. From the point of view of scholarship, it is probably one hour and fifty-eight minutes too long. LEO GERSHOY.

Les allemandes: Réflexions sur la guerre et sur la paix, 1918-1939. By HENRI BERR. (Paris, Albin Michel, 1939, pp. 256, 18 fr.)

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ITALY

Gaudens Megaro

- Massimo D'Azeglio: *Scritti e discorsi politici*. Edited by MARCUS DE RUBRIS. Three volumes. ["Documenti di storia italiana."] (Florence, "La Nuova Italia", 1931, 1936, 1938, pp. xxiii, 556, xx, 368, xv, 604, 35 l., 40 l., 60 l.) This is by

far the best and most complete edition of D'Azeglio's political writings and speeches. De Rubris, the author of valuable studies on this outstanding Risorgimento figure, is eminently qualified for the editorial task. Given the authoritative character of the edition before us, it is a pity that for reasons apparently beyond his control De Rubris was unable to provide an explanation of D'Azeglio's innumerable allusions to obscure persons and events. Altogether inexcusable is the failure to furnish any index whatever. When will Italian editors and publishers realize that the value of the exhaustive source materials they are issuing will be enhanced if they publish indexes?

Rubriche della polizia piemontese, 1821-1848. A cura del R. Archivio di Stato di Torino. (Rome, Regio Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano, 1938, pp. xxiii, 232, 20 l.) This volume reproduces that part of the Piedmontese police registers which includes the names of 1312 Italians who were not subjects of the Kingdom of Sardinia and 884 foreigners from various non-Italian states, the overwhelming majority of whom were listed for "political reasons". It will be especially serviceable as an index to further information about them, which is available in the Royal Archivio di Stato at Turin.

The Corporate State in Action: Italy under Fascism. By CARL T. SCHMIDT, Lecturer in Economics at Columbia University. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1939, pp. 173, \$2.25.)

Government in Fascist Italy. By H. ARTHUR STEINER, Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of California at Los Angeles. Foreword by Fritz Morstein Marx. (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1938, pp. xii, 158, \$1.50.)

Les étapes de l'économie fasciste italienne: Du corporatisme à l'économie de guerre. By LOUIS R. FRANCK. [Éditions du Centre polytechnicien d'études économiques.] (Paris, Librairie Sociale et Économique, 1939, pp. 281, 30 fr.) M. Franck's new volume is a worthy companion to his earlier excellent study, *L'économie corporative fasciste en doctrine et en fait* (1934). The author approaches his difficult subject with truly admirable impartiality, and his narrative is happily free from the emotional moralization and supercilious historical dogmatism that mar so many otherwise useful books on fascist Italy. In his present offering M. Franck is particularly concerned with the economics of the fascist experiment. His discussion of credit, banking, controls of foreign exchanges, consumption, prices, and wages is well documented, up-to-date, and vastly enlightening. He points out that Mussolini's corporate state, which did not take shape until 1934, has found its full expression in the policies of autarchy. M. Franck rightly emphasizes the fact that the unfortunate venture into economic sanctions imposed by the League of Nations on Italy in November, 1935, determined the country's future course. His analysis of the conditions that forced Italy into the road of economic self-sufficiency and of its effect upon various branches of industry and upon social classes deserves special attention, although he has a regrettable tendency to neglect somewhat the extremely important part played by the obstructions to the free movement of capital and goods and by emigration restrictions in framing the economic policies of the fascist regime. The general picture which emerges from M. Franck's thoughtful and often witty pages is that of a country where business enterprise is being rapidly reduced to the subordinate position already assigned by the totalitarian states to the universities, the press, and the arts. Whatever might have been the sanguine hopes of Mussolini's capitalist supporters during the early years of the regime, the business leaders today have no choice but to

bow to the will of the dictator and of the omnipotent party and state bureaucracy.

MICHAEL T. FLORINSKY.

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 NUNZIO COPPOLA. Scorci e figure del Risorgimento italiano: Lettere inedite di P. E. Imbriani, A. Ciccone, R. Savarese, L. Settembrini, G. Pisanelli, A. C. De Meis, F. De Sanctis, L. Tosti, E. Cozenz, P. Villari, S. Spaventa, ed altri. *Ibid.*, Nov.
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RUSSIA AND POLAND

Avrahm Yarmolinsky

Puteshestvie Ibn-Fadlana na Volgu: Perevod i kommentarii [Ibn Fudlan's voyage to the Volga: translation and commentaries]. Edited by I. YU. KRACHKOVSKY. (Moscow, Izdat. Akad. Nauk SSSR, 1939, pp. 212, 13 r.) Ibn Fudlan's account of his voyage to the land of the Volga Bulgari, an important source for the early history of Russia, has been known for over a century. This new translation into Russian is based on a manuscript discovered in 1924 at Meshed, Persia, which is more complete than the texts that have hitherto come to light. The translator, who remains anonymous, had at his disposal a photographic facsimile of the Meshed manuscript, which was presented by the Persian ministry of education to the Russian Academy of Sciences on the occasion of the

International Congress on Iranian Art which took place in Leningrad in 1935. A reproduction of this facsimile is given in the present volume as an appendix. The translation is as literal as is compatible with intelligibility, and the copious lexicographical notes, which make up the commentary, are designed to assist the reader who does not know Arabic to grasp the full meaning of the original. The commentary gives variant readings. The translator has also supplied a substantial introduction in which he describes his method of rendering the original into Russian and discusses the various problems raised by Ibn Fudlan's account and the Meshed manuscript. The Arabic vocables occurring in the notes are listed in a special glossary, and there is a general index of names and subjects.

Die staats- und völkerrechtlichen Grundlagen der moskauischen Aussenpolitik, 14-17. Jahrhundert. By HEDWIG FLEISCHHACKER. [Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas.] (Breslau, Priebatsch, 1938, pp. ix, 247, 12 M.) In 1933 Miss Fleischhacker wrote a doctoral dissertation on the crisis in the Muscovite supreme power in the period of the *smuta* (1598-1613). Discussing the conception of the ideal Muscovite ruler and of his relations to society during fifteen of the most critical years of Russian history, she tried to show that after the extinction of the Rurik dynasty certain insufficiencies from the point of view of legitimacy led unavoidably to the revolution and that these were removed only by the ascendancy of the Romanov dynasty. In her new book, a Berlin *Habilitationsschrift*, the author again discusses the problem of the Muscovite supreme power, but this time especially in regard to its international functions over a period of some three hundred years. Although she disregards most of the special literature on the subject, by scrupulously investigating the Russian primary source material she proves her point that the czar alone was *völkerrechtliches Subjekt* in concluding treaties, and she substantiates her previous position that the significance of the hereditary basis of the czar's power, in internal as well as in foreign affairs, can hardly be overstressed. A by-product of the author's contribution to the first volume of the *Repertorium der diplomatischen Vertreter aller Länder seit dem Westfälischen Frieden* (1936), the book uses certain hitherto unpublished documents from the Dresden and Vienna archives and extracts made at Moscow by Hans Übersberger more than thirty years earlier when he was preparing his book, *Oesterreich und Russland, 1488-1605* (1906). Miss Fleischhacker's work must be regarded as a very valuable addition to the chain of recent German contributions, by K. Forstreuter, H. Schaefer, W. Philipp, and others, enriching and changing in many respects the traditional pattern of Muscovite history.

F. T. EPSTEIN.

Les favoris de Catherine la Grande. By ALEXANDRE POLOVTSOFF. Preface by Maurice Paléologue. (Paris, Plon, 1939, pp. xvii, 253, 24 fr.) This is a brief, vivid, and dispassionate account of twelve distinguished favorites of Catherine the Great. It reads with interest but must be disappointing to those who were brought up on succulent stories about that empress. The reader with a cynical disposition will probably not enjoy it, but the student who seeks a better understanding of the atmosphere at the court in the capital of Russia during the second half of the eighteenth century will be gratified. True to the traditions of so many Continental publications, the book is paper bound and has no index.

ANATOLE G. MAZOUR.

The Lady of the Holy Alliance: The Life of Julie de Krüdener. By ERNEST JOHN KNAPTON. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1939, pp. ix, 262, \$3.00.)

Julie de Krüdener's life was a strange affair of shreds and patches. "From her birth, in 1764, at Riga to her death, in 1824, in the Crimea", writes Professor Knapton, "she filled her years with almost ceaseless wanderings. The interest in her life arises from her responsiveness to the conflicting tendencies of her background and of her age. Her career takes us from . . . Livonia to the butterfly life of France in the last days of the *ancien régime* . . . from the Moravian Brethren of Silesia and the Pietists of the Rhineland . . . to an almost mythical end in the distant loneliness of the Crimea". There was, thus, hardly a national culture or an intellectual movement from St. Petersburg to Venice that did not leave its impress upon her. In her own age Julie was widely known as a woman of the "haute monde", as a novelist, and finally as an earnest but fanatic religious exhorter, yet, at her death, Goethe said of her career, "such a life resembles shavings; when they are burned nothing remains but a little heap of ashes". The high point of this fantastic life was her famous friendship with Alexander I of Russia. After a careful study, however, of the origins of the Holy Alliance, the author decides that Mme. de Krüdener's part was "an incidental one". This biography is based on years of exhaustive research. The material has been so thoroughly mastered and the author strikes such a balance between sympathy and critical detachment that the result is not only scholarly but has an artistic quality that monographs of this sort rarely possess. After over a century Mme. de Krüdener has a definitive biography.

FREDERICK B. ARTZ.

A Critique of Russian Statistics. By COLIN CLARK. (New York, Macmillan, 1939, pp. v, 76, \$2.60.) In this little volume Mr. Clark, whose earlier books, *National Income, 1924-1931* and *National Income and Outlay*, have attracted wide attention, courageously ventures into the wilderness of Soviet economics. To this exacting task he brings the same firm command of statistical methods, insight, and broad social approach that have characterized his earlier works. His present theme is the evaluation of the Russian national income from prewar days to 1937. The inherent difficulties of such a study are aggravated in the case of Russia by the fact that Russian national income, in spite of the excellent but largely pioneer work of Professor S. N. Prokopovich, continues to remain something of a *terra incognita*. The practical value of an investigation such as that undertaken by Mr. Clark is necessarily determined by the reliability of the statistical material on which it is based. It is therefore most unfortunate that the author depends almost exclusively on secondary sources. While some of them, for instance the estimates of Professor Prokopovich, must be consulted by every student of the question, other sources inspire a great deal less confidence, although Mr. Clark has checked the results of his computations in many ingenious ways. It is to be regretted that he did not include a brief critical appraisal of his material. In fairness it must be added that official Soviet statistics would not have helped him much in reaching trustworthy conclusions. As a methodological approach to the study of Russian national income Mr. Clark's volume is suggestive, and most of it is admirable. If his findings are, perhaps, not very convincing, the blame should fall not on the author but on the governments and the economists of both Imperial and Soviet Russia.

MICHAEL T. FLORINSKY.

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FAR EASTERN HISTORY

C. H. Peake

The Crucial Years of Early Anglo-Chinese Relations, 1750-1800. By EARL H. PRITCHARD. [Research Studies of the State College of Washington.] (Pullman, State College of Washington, 1936, pp. 96-442, \$1.75.) Many works on China's decline have dealt with the tremendous waves of foreign trade, ideas, and invasions which overwhelmed her old civilization, but Dr. Pritchard's work shows the tiny ripples of foreign discontent lapping timidly and ever more persistently at the foundations of the mighty Ch'ing Empire before the weaknesses of the foundations and the power of the waves were apparent. In a previous work the author dealt with Anglo-Chinese relations during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; in the present study he has dealt more fully with the last fifty years of that period. In this half century all trade with Europe was confined to Canton, British trade came to exceed all other European and American trade together, and Lord Macartney was sent on an embassy from King George III to Emperor Ch'ien Lung at Peking. Though the embassy failed in its chief political and commercial purposes, Dr. Pritchard concludes that the information which it collected so stimulated England's intellectual interest in China that it marks the beginning of a new epoch in Anglo-Chinese relations. He is impressed with the importance of the cultural relations, but the superabundance of his source material for commercial and political relations in the India Office in London and the Macartney Papers at Cornell University leads him to develop these most fully. He has succeeded in producing a complete, balanced, and authoritative study of his topic and period. It is to be hoped that a tendency toward repetition which appears especially in his last two chapters will be corrected in his future works. Also, your

reviewer doubts if the tael should be called "a hypothetical coin" or if the *Macclesfield* should be called a "galley". There is an excellent annotated bibliography. Even the index retains the exotic flavor of the East India merchantmen in such items of their cargoes (with explanations) as cows' bezoar, cutch, dammar, dragons' blood, etc.

CARROLL B. MALONE.

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UNITED STATES HISTORY

E. C. Burnett

GENERAL

The Book in America: A History of the Making, the Selling, and the Collecting of Books in the United States. By HELLMUT LEHMANN-HAUPT in collaboration with RUTH SHEPARD GRANNISS and LAWRENCE C. WROTH. (New York, Bowker, 1939, pp. xiii, 453, \$6.00.) This is a revised and enlarged English text of the 1937 German work, *Das amerikanische Buchwesen*. The first part by Dr. Wroth covers the history of book production and distribution from 1638 to 1860 and shows the rise of printing in English America and the United States as well as of bookselling, papermaking, and typefounding and their industrialization and expansion by machinery and organization. In the second part Lehmann-Haupt carries the industrialization of printing from the emergence of speed presses and mechanical processes to the end of the nineteenth century and touches upon the more recent rise of fine printing on special presses in limited editions. In the third part Miss Granniss, amiable librarian of the Grolier Club, home of bibliophiles, quite naturally tells of the rise of bibliophilism and libraries in the United States. She gives thumbnail sketches of those who were outstanding as collectors and founders of libraries, among them John Carter Brown, James Lenox, Gen. Rush C. Hawkins, William L. Clements, and J. Pierpont Morgan, whose foundations of special libraries are of extraordinary service to scholarship in America. Such a work had to be compiled from many sources with painstaking investigation, and the appendix shows the hundreds of "sources used by the three contributors". It should not be expected that a work thus composed would be free of errors, but they are not so numerous as to prevent commendation of the book as a whole. It is the only work of its kind, providing a synthesis of information often very difficult to find. A copy should be in every research library as well as in the private library of every bookman.

VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS.

The Judges of the Supreme Court, 1789-1937: A Study of their Qualifications. By CORTEZ A. M. EWING, Director, School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, University of Oklahoma. (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1938, pp. 124, \$2.00.)

Our Eleven Chief Justices: A History of the Supreme Court in Terms of their Personalities. By KENNETH BERNARD UMBREIT. (New York, Harper, 1938, pp. xiv, 539, \$3.75.)

Marshall and Taney, Statesmen of the Law. By BEN W. PALMER, Member of the Minnesota Bar and Lecturer at the University of Minnesota. (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1939, pp. viii, 281, \$3.50.) This book will have value chiefly for the general reader who has not the time or the interest to read carefully documented, full-length biographies of Chief Justices Marshall and Taney. It is vigorously and pungently written and seems, in the main, to be an accurate portrayal. It is not a work of conventional scholarship. It is based almost exclusively upon materials already familiar to scholars in the

field. No bibliography or footnote citations are provided, and many sources, even of quotations, are indicated only in the most general way or are not indicated at all. The interpretation of the careers of each of the two justices differs little from interpretations in biographies already written. The introductory chapter, which proves to have little relation to the chapters which follow, is entitled "Are Judges Human Beings?" and is made the vehicle for presenting the liberal juristic philosophy of the author. A striving after sprightliness in phrasing and in the classification of materials, which prevails throughout the book, is illustrated by the headings of the sections: "Canonized: John Marshall"; "Cursed: Roger Brooke Taney". The chapters dealing with Chief Justice Taney are entitled, "Condemned in Advance", "Damned in Retrospect", and "Reappraised". It is of interest that this book, written evidently for popular consumption and wide distribution, bears the stamp not of a so-called commercial publisher but of a university press.

CARL BRENT SWISHER.

La cultura americana e l'Italia. By ANGELINA LA PIANA. (Turin, Einaudi, 1938, pp. xii, 382, 30 l.) This book by Miss La Piana, professor of Italian literature at Wellesley, is an important contribution to the study of the diffusion of Italian culture in this country from the colonial period to the latter part of the nineteenth century. Evidences of Italian influence on our literary, artistic, and cultural development are traced in detail and with discrimination. A notable feature of the volume is the author's grasp of the main trends in our intellectual history. Such figures as Beccaria, Mazzei, Carlo Botta, Da Ponte, Washington Irving, George Ticknor, James Fenimore Cooper, Hawthorne, Longfellow, William Cullen Bryant, Marion Crawford, William Dean Howells, and Henry James are judiciously appraised. Professor La Piana places her emphasis on the literary relations between Italians and Americans, leaving to others the task of investigating further aspects of Italian-American cultural contacts. It is to be hoped that the author will publish an English version of her work so that it will be available to scholars who are engaged in exploring our intellectual relations with Europe but who do not read Italian.

GAUDENS MEGARO.

The Bonapartes in America. By CLARENCE EDWARD MACARTNEY and GORDON DORRANCE. (Philadelphia, Dorrance and Company, 1939, pp. 286, \$3.00.) This new book on the Bonapartes adds very little to our knowledge of the subject. It is a collection of anecdotes, some of them well known, others not so well known, concerning the Bonaparte family. Although it possesses some evidences of a scholarly method, being equipped with some footnotes and a bibliography, there appears to be no critical use of sources, no check on the accuracy or authenticity of the various anecdotes and legends concerning the Bonaparte family.

EDITH PHILLIPS.

The Rambling Frontier: Manners and Humors of Pioneer Days in the South and the Middle West. By THOMAS D. CLARK. (Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1939, pp. xiv, 350, \$3.00.) This colorful narrative is a valuable contribution to the steadily increasing number of volumes on frontier humor. In fifteen racy chapters Dr. Clark covers the period from 1775 to 1850. While the scene is laid largely in Kentucky, the contiguous states contribute to the story. Even far-away Wisconsin and Iowa are not forgotten. As its title indicates, *The Rambling Frontier* emphasizes the "buckskin" character and relegates the "broadcloth" individual to the background. Dr. Clark tells the story of the raw-boned backwoodsmen who "pushed the Indians, the b'ar, the painter [panther], and the tall timber back off the land" in the Ohio and Lower Mississippi valleys.

When his characters are not gouging bears they are baiting "Green Uns", telling gargantuan tavern tales, or making stump speeches. At revival meetings they learn of a wrathful God who "toted thunder in his fists, and flung lightning from his fingers". At land offices they encounter the "cursedest varmint" on the frontier, the backwoods lawyer. On the frontier gentlemen of rank—judges, generals, colonels—fairly spawn. Accomplished liars also flourish and tell their tales. Some of Dr. Clark's characters may be found gambling on their "quarter hosses" and their "keards"; others may be seen "fiddlin'" at the Nettle Bottom Ball or "foolin'" with the gals". The book closes with the gawking backwoodsmen being taken in by the shrewd Yankee traders who swarm all over the frontier. Dr. Clark has made a genuine contribution to the field of American humor. He has combed the books and periodicals of the time, drawing heavily on that mine of backwoods anecdote, *The Spirit of the Times*. And yet, while satisfying the demands of the scholar, the book should also meet the hearty approval of a wide reading public. The volume contains footnotes and a bibliography but no index.

WILLIAM J. PETERSEN.

The Negro Family in the United States. By E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER, Professor of Sociology, Howard University. [The University of Chicago Sociological Series.] (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1939, pp. xxxii, 686, \$4.00.)

Negro Slave Revolts in the United States, 1526-1860. By HERBERT APTHEKER. (New York, International Publishers, 1939, pp. 72, 15 cents.)

Lincoln's Hungarian Heroes: The Participation of Hungarians in the Civil War, 1861-1865. By EDMUND VASVARY. (Washington, Hungarian Reformed Federation of America, 1939, pp. 171, 50 cents.)

The First Negro Medical Society: A History of the Medico-Chirurgical Society of the District of Columbia, 1884-1939. By W. MONTAGUE COBB, Associate Professor of Anatomy, Howard University, Recording Secretary, Medico-Chirurgical Society. (Washington, Associated Publishers, 1939, pp. x, 159, \$2.15.)

Wider Horizons of American History. By HERBERT E. BOLTON. [The Appleton-Century Historical Essays.] (New York, Appleton-Century, 1939, pp. xv, 191, \$1.50.) Four essays by Professor Bolton, which have heretofore appeared only as periodical articles, are reprinted in this volume. They are: "The Epic of Greater America", "Defensive Spanish Expansion and the Significance of the Borderlands", "The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish-American Colonies", and "The Black Robes of New Spain".

A Short History of the United States, 1492-1938. By JOHN SPENCER BASSETT, Late Professor of American History in Smith College. Third edition, revised and enlarged by Richard H. Bassett. (New York, Macmillan, 1939, pp. xvii, 1039, \$4.00.)

The Growth of American Democracy, Social, Economic, Political. By JEANNETTE P. NICHOLS, Sometime Professor of History, Wesleyan College, and ROY F. NICHOLS, Professor of History, University of Pennsylvania. [The Century Historical Series.] (New York, Appleton-Century, 1939, pp. xxiii, 819, \$4.00.)

Economic Development of the United States: A First Course. By CHARLES MANFRED THOMPSON, Professor of Economics, University of Illinois, and FRED MITCHELL JONES, Associate in Business Organization and Operation, University of Illinois. (New York, Macmillan, 1939, pp. xiii, 794, \$3.50.)

A History of American Economic Life. By EDWARD C. KIRKLAND, Frank Munsey Professor of American History, Bowdoin College. Revised edition. [Crofts American History Series.] (New York, Crofts, 1939, pp. xvii, 810, \$3.75.)

Romance of the National Parks. By HARLEAN JAMES, Executive Secretary, American Planning and Civic Association. (New York, Macmillan, 1939, pp. xiv, 240, \$3.00.) "The purpose of this book has been to bring together in brief form the history of the movement which led to the creation of national parks and to outline the development of the system."

Flowing Stream: The Story of Fifty-six Years in American Newspaper Life. By FLORENCE FINCH KELLY. (New York, Dutton, 1939, pp. xvi, 571, \$3.75.) For her autobiography published a few months before her death in December, 1939, Florence Finch Kelly chose a smoother life symbol in "Flowing Stream" than her struggle upstream might suggest to others. To the initiated and the uninitiated, fifty-six years in American newspaper career would seem to imply conflict and drama, light with heavy shadows, hard effort at writing amid turbulent movements in thought and action, troubled reflection on the ways of all flesh. Though the dean of urban newspaper women had not landed on the staff of the *New York Times* to hold her post for thirty years without strenuous effort, having been in her youth "a raw green girl of the Kansas prairies", a child of the covered wagon era, she reported her adventures blithely as if the strokes had been remarkably light upstream and the sailing peculiarly easy. Her mother's sympathy and advice were her most precious memories, but many women and men as fellow travelers had helped her to security and power. Her marriage was to one of these. Though notably free from bitterness and a flair for the tragic, Mrs. Kelly's story is charged with her own unrest as a daughter of the soil, with aspects of the Civil War experienced when she was very young, with the insurgence of new ideas and moral standards crowding religious dogmas to the wall, with vivid local colors picturing her work for the press in Chicago, California, New Mexico, Boston, and New York, with the rise of the newspaper syndicate and masters directing ladies of the press. She was a cub reporter, a writer for magazines, and a novelist. She reviewed books and was highly book conscious, her volume ending in a paean to books and a plea for the abundant support of librarians.

MARY R. BEARD.

American Problems of Today: A History of the United States since the World War. By LOUIS M. HACKER. (New York, Crofts, 1938, pp. xiii, 354, \$2.00.) The person who picks up this little book expecting to read it through in an afternoon is due for a big surprise. The author has tried to say something about nearly every important political and economic event or trend of the interwar years and has also devoted some space to certain social and cultural phases of American life. The result is a very compact piece of historical condensation. In fact the effort to cover so much material in so small a space occasionally results in ambiguous or cryptic expressions which baffle the reader. Nevertheless, as a synthesis of the period the book is of high value for reference. About a quarter of the material is taken from earlier books of which Professor Hacker was author or coauthor. The rest is a continuation of events. As in his *Short History of the New Deal* he writes on the assumption of "the apparent inability of capitalism to continue functioning in terms of a free market", in fear both of the creation of a bureaucratic state capitalism and "involvement in foreign war" and with grave doubts "about the means cur-

rently being employed to assure" the future welfare of the republic. The book is free of gratuitous expression of opinion or abusive language. The manner of assembling and marshaling huge numbers of facts succeeds better than any abstract argumentation in convincing the reader of his point of view. The New Deal is pictured as an effort to repair and wind up a badly functioning and run-down capitalistic system (see p. 204). Real value is seen in such agencies as the National Labor Relations Board and in social security legislation, and credit is given for good intentions in various instances even where policies have worked out badly.

FRED A. SHANNON.

Rural Migration in the United States. By C. E. LIVELY, University of Missouri, and CONRAD TAEUBER, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics. [Works Progress Administration.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1939, pp. xxi, 192.) "By the use of census data this report presents a detailed analysis of the recent movements of the rural population."

Inside the Department of State. By BERTRAM D. HULEN. (New York, Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1939, pp. xiii, 328, \$3.00.)

The Russians in Hawaii, 1804-1819. By KLAUS MEHNERT. [University of Hawaii Occasional Papers.] (Honolulu, University of Hawaii, 1939, pp. iii, 86, 75 cents.) This monograph describes the brilliant but transient plans of a few Russian (really Baltic German) adventurers to colonize Hawaii and convert it into a much needed cornice of Russian Alaska. The author thus strengthens our appreciation of the historic international importance of these islands. He is also easily able to dispose of the official Bolshevik contention that a plan to seize them originated with the czars as part of a far-reaching imperialistic program. In this case at least private adventurers alone saw the vision and were quickly squelched by a skeptical government.

RICHARD W. VAN ALSTYNE.

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The Town Officials of Colonial Boston, 1634-1775. By ROBERT FRANCIS SEYBOLT. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1939, pp. xiii, 416, \$5.00.) "The compilation is based on the manuscript minutes of the town and selectmen's meetings, which have been collated with the published records and supplemented by material from newspapers, diaries, and various unpublished official memoranda. It brings together in convenient, verifiable form contemporary records which are somewhat scattered."

William Penn as Social Philosopher. By EDWARD CORBYN OBERT BEATTY. With a Foreword by Marcus W. Jernegan. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1939, pp. xiii, 338, \$3.50.) This is a valuable contribution to the social history of Europe and America during the period embraced in the mature life of the great Quaker leader. In contrast to the numerous biographies of the founder of Pennsylvania concerned largely with the narration of events, this volume devotes itself, as the title indicates, to an analysis of his political and social theories and his attitude toward property, war and peace, religion, racial equality, education, crime and punishment, the family, and humanitarian reforms in general. Thus it is not a biography in the true sense of the word, though it necessarily embodies considerable biographical detail in dealing with Penn's philosophy. This discourse on his beliefs is not only an illuminating commentary on their sources but also a careful analysis of the complex relationships of people in contemporary Europe and America. Especially significant is Dr. Beatty's presentation of the transfer of European ideas to America and their modification by new environmental influences. Since Penn was not speculative or scientific, he did not develop a systematic ideology. Neither was he distinguished for originality or scholarship. His achievements, according to the author, were the "deeds of an active versatile personality, endowed with great energy and force, rather than the meditations of the purely speculative thinker", and were "inspired by ideals and, hence, by a philosophy; but the deeds, in turn, conditioned the philosophy". He was always "dynamic and purposive" and a fearless advocate of the principles in which he believed. The author indicates that Penn derived his social ideas mainly from three points of view—those of the political theorist and statesman, the economist, and the social idealist. The volume is well documented, contains a satisfactory index and an excellent bibliography, and is written in a pleasing, readable style.

ASA E. MARTIN.

Massachusetts Broad-sides, 1699-1711: Fourteen Broad-sides Previously undescribed by Bibliographers, Here reproduced in Reduced Scale from the Originals in the Public Record Office, London, together with an Introductory Note. By DOUGLAS C. McMURTRIE. (Chicago, privately printed, 1939, pp. 21, 50 cents.)

The First Grievance Committee in New York. By PAUL M. HAMLIN, Member of the New York Bar. [Anglo-American Legal History Series.] (New York, New York University School of Law, 1939, pp. 16, \$1.00.)

The Streets of Old New York: An Historical Picture Book. By GARDNER OSBORN. (New York, Harper, 1939, pp. 49, \$1.50.)

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

Plantations of the Carolina Low Country. By SAMUEL GAILLARD STONEY. Edited by Albert Simons and Samuel Lapham, jr. With an Introduction by John Mead Howells. (Charleston, Carolina Art Association, 1938, pp. 243, \$7.00.) This book, with its clear and often charming photographs of old houses, interiors, churches, and gardens, its accurate drawings of architectural details, and its clear floor plans, provides a welcome addition to the history of American architecture. Especially valuable is the thirty-one page article on "The Country and its People". A description of old houses is of little interest save as it throws light upon the people who lived in them—their culture, habits, thoughts, the economic conditions which produced their wealth, their connections with the outside world. This the writer has done, on the whole successfully. He touches on the rise and decline of prosperity in the Carolina low country with the rise and decline in turn of the cultivation of rice, indigo, and cotton, on the influence of the melting pot as West Indian intermarried with Huguenot or Charlestonian with uplander; he describes, though somewhat briefly, the influence of building materials and climate upon local architecture and dwells upon the cultural dominance of the mother country. It is this article which differentiates the volume from the usual book on American architecture and so gives welcome evidence of a growing realization that architecture cannot be understood apart from its historic setting. It is to be wished that the author and the editors had made it clearer on what books of architecture the various buildings were based and what part West Indian, English, Huguenot, and other influences played in shaping the styles. But they make clear enough the fact that the designers of the old houses they describe knew how to accommodate them to unique economic, climatic, and social conditions without sacrificing the all-important matter of beauty, a feat which many of our present-day architects, who make utility an excuse for bad taste, might well take to heart.

T. J. WERTENBAKER.

The Life of Braxton Craven: A Biographical Approach to Social Science. By JEROME DOWD. (Durham, Duke University Press, 1939, pp. xvi, 246, \$3.00.) It seems eminently suitable for Duke University to issue as one of the books dealing with Trinity College and its origins, published in connection with observance in the academic year 1938-39 of the Duke University Centennial, a biography of Trinity's first president, Braxton Craven. The volume is a re-written version of the edition of 1896, which had aroused the interest of the author's students at the University of Oklahoma in a man dead for half a century. The book will make its appeal not only to the possible score of students still alive who came under President Craven's direct influence and to the thousands who knew him by tradition but to other thousands who respect a great leader of youth. The author defines the central purpose of the life work of Craven as the "making of men", and surely Mr. Dowd has succeeded in impressing the reader with the conception of a life dominated by this ideal. Throughout the reviewer is made conscious of the fact that this book is the product of a sociologist rather than of a historian. There is evidence, naturally, of scholarly care in establishing facts, even where they were difficult to secure, as they must have been for his early youth, and in the use of extant manuscripts from President Craven's pen. The reviewer refrains from any comment as to psychological or sociological interpretations drawn by the author and from more than calling attention to numerous instances of repetition. The story is written with such vividness and sympathy that the reader

lays it down with the sense of having been in the presence of a great and good man. ELLA LONN.

George Fitzhugh, Conservative of the Old South. By HARVEY WISH, DePaul University. [Southern Sketches.] (Charlottesville, Green Bookman, 1938, pp. 39.)

Child Labor Legislation in the Southern Textile States. By ELIZABETH H. DAVIDSON. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1939, pp. 302, \$4.00.) The author traces "the growth of the child labor reform movement in the South from its obscure beginnings in the 1880's through the failure of the federal amendment and the enactment of more or less satisfactory state laws".

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

The Story of Lac Ste. Claire. A Paper read at the Prismatic Club, Detroit, May 8, 1938. By HAL H. SMITH. (Detroit, privately printed by the Press of the Round Circle, 1939, pp. 56.) This swiftly moving story of that smaller lake lying midway between Lakes Erie and Huron is, as of necessity it must be, a story not less of the land than of the water. The early voyages, the explorations, the beginnings of settlement, the founding at this strategic point of what has come to be one of the great American cities, the struggle for possession—Indians and French, French and British, British and American—all these things are told briefly but smoothly and graphically. What lends an especial interest to this volume is the manner in which it was brought into existence. It is explained that a small group of men employed in the graphic arts, desirous of giving permanence to worthwhile writings that might otherwise be neglected, decided to establish a private press club and to devote their "after-hours" to the enterprise. The present volume, the first result of their endeavors, abundantly justifies their plan and purpose. Of folio size, it is an exquisite specimen of the printer's and graphic arts. The numerous illustrations include a few of modern conception, but for the most part they are the earliest known pictures related to the region. Particularly noteworthy is the series of old maps.

Pope's Digest, 1815, Vol. I. Edited with Introduction by FRANCIS S. PHILBRICK. (Springfield, Illinois State Historical Library, 1938, pp. lxxiv, 356, \$2.50.) The present volume is a literal reprint of Volume I of Pope's *Digest* of the laws of Illinois Territory. It is sequential to two previously published volumes in the same series: the *Laws of the Northwest Territory, 1788-1800*, edited by T. C. Pease, and the *Laws of Indiana Territory, 1801-1809*, edited by Professor Philbrick. Pope's competence to execute the mandate of the territorial legislature to compile the *Digest* in question is attested by his service as territorial secretary, 1809-1816, as acting governor when the territory was first organized, and by his subsequent long tenure as a federal judge. His work in the present instance, moreover, stemmed from an earlier digest compiled in 1807 for Indiana Territory by John Johnson and John Rice Jones. Pope's *Digest*, however, was never enacted into law, and the contradictory statutes disclosed by its publication were not repealed. In a penetrating introductory essay, supported by citations of original county and other records, Professor Philbrick has made an important original contribution to the legal history of the period. Scholars interested in the legal, political, and social history of a typical frontier area will be impressed with the value of the present offering. CLARENCE E. CARTER.

The Old Stone Capitol Remembers. By BENJ. F. SHAMBAUGH. (Iowa City, State Historical Society of Iowa, 1939, pp. 435, \$3.00.) Eighteen years of the period when Iowa was young are chronicled and emphasized by Professor Shambaugh in a volume marking the hundredth anniversary of the founding of Iowa City in 1839. The book covers and commemorates not only the founding of the town and the construction of the Old Stone Capitol but also the important Iowa developments which centered in Iowa City during these years. These developments included the formation of the territory of Iowa, the emergence of statehood, the establishment of the State University of Iowa, the birth of the Republican party of Iowa, the transfer of the capital to Des Moines, and the organization of the State Historical Society, which, along with the university, was to retain location at Iowa City. Town and state are interwoven in the Shambaugh story, which is presumably written for the layman and is free from footnotes and bibliography, though it has a good index. The body of the text carries mention of documents as well as quotations from contemporary newspapers. The book is essentially descriptive and draws both upon fact and upon qualified tradition. Sources are used primarily to adorn a tale rather than to prove an interpretation. As might be expected, the story is favorable to Iowa state pride. It administers praise to the Iowa pioneers. And, as might further be expected, it is attractively bound. H. C. NIXON.

Continuation of the Annals of San Francisco. Part I, *From June 1, 1854, to December 31, 1855.* Compiled by DOROTHY H. HUGGINS from the Files of Contemporary Magazines and Newspapers. (San Francisco, California Historical Society, 1939, pp. 124, \$2.75.) This volume "takes up the thread of the City's intimate history where the work of Soulé, Gihon and Nisbet left it in their notable *Annals of San Francisco*, published in 1855, and carries it through the latter half of 1854 and all of the year 1855. . . . The sources from which Miss Huggins has drawn are the tabulations of events which appeared in the *Pioneer* in 1854-1855, supplemented by research in the files of both the *Alta California* and the *Daily Evening Bulletin*."

History of the Ohio State University. Volume IV, *The University in the Great War.* Part II, *Our Men in Military and Naval Service.* Supervised and edited by WILBUR H. SIEBERT, Research Professor in History, Emeritus. Part III, *In*

the Camps and at the Front. By WILBUR H. SIEBERT, except Chapters II to IX, inclusive, by Professor EDGAR HOLMES McNEAL. (Columbus, Ohio State University Press, 1938, pp. xix, 631, xv, 305, \$3.50 each.)

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LATIN-AMERICAN HISTORY

J. W. Caughey

A History of Brazil. By JOÃO PANDIÁ CALOGERAS. Translated and edited by PERCY ALVIN MARTIN. [The Inter-American Historical Series.] (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1939, pp. xxiii, 374, \$5.00.) The professional historians of Brazil, with discreet regard for the distinction between history and current events, have produced no authoritative survey of Brazilian history. A mining engineer and statesman, João Pandiá Calogeras, filled the need with his *Formação histórica do Brasil*, unique in its comprehensiveness. Graduating from the Ouro Preto School of Mines, Calogeras won repute as a minerologist, became minister of agriculture, then, during the World War, of finance, represented Brazil at the Paris Peace Conference, and ended his public career as minister of war. His writing reflects his preparation and career: he wrote the best history of the mines of Brazil, an authoritative exposition of Brazilian finances and currency, and the only survey of Brazilian foreign relations (1494-1852). Using as a basis lectures delivered before a summer school for foreigners, he wrote the *Formação histórica*. Style is not one of his virtues. He labors through many obscure passages, leaving a possible translator distracted. Professor Martin wisely refused to translate literally: he eliminated much, dressed the carefully selected sections with his own fluency and charm, and added a final chapter bringing the story to 1937. The result is quite as much the work of Professor Martin as of Calogeras. Yet the flavor of the Brazilian is retained; the attitude, the point of view, the tacit assumptions are those of a native Brazilian. It is the kind of history a North American cannot write about Brazil. Despite too much war, politics, and diplomatic relations and too little of the Gilberto Freyre slant, this survey of Brazilian history from the Brazilian viewpoint will prove salutary for those North Americans who find the Portuguese language difficult—and few there are who do not find it so.

ALAN K. MANCHESTER.

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HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The next annual meeting of the Association will be held in New York City on December 27, 28, and 30. The Program Committee invites those members of the Association who desire to present papers to submit them, or abstracts of them, before June 1. An attempt will be made to find a place in the program for the papers approved by the committee, but in case this is impossible, the committee for 1941 will be asked to consider the papers. Communications should be addressed to Thomas C. Cochran, New York University. The Program Committee plans to pay especial attention to the following topics: (1) the historian and his profession (new research techniques and bibliographical needs; the use of such terms as "cause", "effect", "precedent", "influence"; the study and teaching of history in the liberal arts college, with special reference to "orientation" courses; the influence of sectionalism on the writing of American history; the historian's responsibility to a popular audience). (2) war and society (hysteria and propaganda, the influence on institutions, the geographic and anthropological factors, etc.). (3) historical studies neglected in the programs of the Association in the last decade (Australasia; the Near East; the business cycle theory in the historical process; labor and socialism; aspects of the history of women; the American Negro; the issue of national separatism versus economic unity, with special reference to Austria-Hungary, Russia, and the United States; the Romantic movement; have colonies paid?; monarchical institutions; the transition in England from humanitarianism to state intervention in social problems; the breakup of the eighteenth century British Empire; the diffusion of knowledge in American intellectual history; social conflicts in colonial America; historical New York).

ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING

The annual business meeting of the Association was held on December 29 at the Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D. C. The final report of the Committee of Ten on Reorganization and Policy (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLIII, 728, 965, XLIV, 749), presented by its chairman, Professor John D. Hicks, was accepted, and upon his motion the committee was discharged. The committee proposed a number of amendments to the Constitution to give effect to some of its recommendations. Having already been approved by the Council, these amendments were considered one by one and in each case were adopted. The most important changes thus made in the Constitution were: (1) elimination of the office of Secretary, the duties attached to that office being transferred to the office of Executive Secretary (Art. IV. sec. 1);

(2) inclusion of the Executive Secretary and the Managing Editor of the *American Historical Review* as officers of the Association and members of the Council (Art. IV, sec. 1, Art. V, sec. 1); (3) establishment of the principle of a limited term of office, not to exceed three years but without restriction upon reappointment, for the Executive Secretary, the Assistant Secretary-Treasurer, the Managing Editor of the *Review*, and the Editor, the present terms of these officers to expire on December 31, 1940 (Art. IV, sec. 5); (4) limitation of membership on the Executive Committee to members of the Council (Art. V, sec. 3); (5) a change in the method of amending the Constitution so that no proposed amendment may be adopted at any business meeting unless the proposed amendment and an explanation thereof shall have been circulated to the membership of the Association at least twenty days before the date of the meeting (Art. VIII, sec. 1).

An important recommendation made by the committee but not embodied in any proposed amendment to the Constitution was the centralization of administration in Washington, and the committee urged the Council to search for an Executive Secretary to be resident there.

Upon motion by Professor Merk it was voted to recommend to the new Council an amendment to Article IV, section 1, to make it read: "The officers shall be a President, a First Vice-President, a Second Vice-President, a Treasurer, an Executive Secretary, a Managing Editor of the *American Historical Review*, and, at the discretion of the Council, an Editor and an Assistant Secretary-Treasurer."

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY TO THE COUNCIL, 1939

The Executive Council of the Association held one meeting during the year, on December 27 at Washington. The Executive Committee of the Council met twice during the year, on March 5 and on November 5 in New York. All of the activities of the Association hereafter to be noted are in general charge of the Executive Secretary, under the immediate direction of the Executive Committee and subject to the general control of the Council.

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW. During the current year the *Review* has been edited by Professor Robert L. Schuyler from the editorial offices at 535 West 114th Street, New York. The appropriation for editing the *Review* was \$6700, and the net cost of printing, after deducting the contribution of the publishers to editorial expenses, the Association's share of profits of publication, etc., amounted to \$3280.28 (an increase of \$1108.37 over last year)—making a total net cost of \$9980.28 to the Association for issues of the *Review* supplied to its members. The increase in the net cost of printing is due in part to the fact that the Association's share of profits was \$771.27 less than a year ago, in part to the fact that printing charges increased \$399.12, reflecting, of course, an increase in membership. The reduction in profits is to be explained in large measure by the necessity of large purchases of paper by the printers. Generally speaking, the printers

have to buy paper for the *Review* every other year, which means an alternation of relatively good with relatively bad years from the point of view of profits. Another factor operating to reduce profits was a loss to date of \$208.43 on the sale of the ten-year index. It may be anticipated that this loss is only a temporary one and that further sales of the index will make it up. The following passages are quoted from the report of the Managing Editor:

Volume XLIV of the *Review* (October, 1938-July, 1939) contained 1070 pages, including an annual index of 44 pages, as compared with 1020 pages in Volume XLIII. The total number of Articles, Notes and Suggestions, and Documents was 22, as against 21 in Volume XLIII. The slight increase in the number of pages (less than 5 per cent) is explained by a larger increase in the number of book reviews and notices and in the number of articles listed. Volume XLIV contains 272 reviews as against 261 in Volume XLIII and 538 notices as against 468, a total of reviews and notices of 810 as compared with 729 in Volume XLIII, which is an increase of 11 per cent. The total number of articles listed was 2557 as against 2314 in Volume XLIII, an increase of 10½ per cent.

During the period covered by this report 96 Articles, Notes and Suggestions, and Documents were submitted, as compared with 111 during the preceding twelve months. Of these, 10 were accepted, 65 rejected, and 21 returned at once without a decision, with the statement that they would be considered if resubmitted after October 1. . . . Twelve major articles were published, including the Presidential Address and an account of the annual meeting of the Association at Chicago. Of these articles, 4 were in the field of European history, 4 in American history, 2 in historiography, and 1 in the history of the Middle East. . . .

The General Index to Volumes XXXI-XL was published in March. According to a statement received from the Macmillan Company, 399 copies were sold prior to July 15. This sale did not cover the cost of publication, but the Macmillan Company expect that additional sales during their current fiscal year will do so.

I am glad to be able to report a marked increase in the number of our reviewers during the last three years. The total number of writers of reviews and notices was 279 in Volume XLII, 363 in Volume XLIII, and 450 in Volume XLIV. Comparing the last of these numbers with the first, there was an increase of 61 per cent, which approximates the increase in the number of book reviews and notices (65 per cent). This increase in the number of contributors of reviews and notices is undoubtedly due in great part to the enlargement we have made in our file of reviewers. . . . In assigning books for review, our primary object has been to find competent reviewers, but, so far as consistent with this purpose, we have tried to secure an adequate representation of all geographical sections of the country.

SOCIAL EDUCATION. During the current year *Social Education* has been edited by Professor Erling M. Hunt from the editorial offices, 204 Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University. In accordance with an agreement entered into some years ago, the appointment of the Board of Editors of this magazine, heretofore made by the Council of the Association, will, after January 1, 1940, be made by the Council of the Association and by the National Council for the Social Studies, according to the distribution of subscribers to the magazine between members of the National Council and

nonmembers. A rough estimate reveals that approximately three quarters of the subscribers are members of the National Council, which means that three quarters of the Board of Editors for 1940 will be named by the National Council. The control of the magazine will thus pass from the Association to the National Council, for which *Social Education* has long been the official organ. It is altogether fitting that this should be so, and the Association, which has managed and financed the enterprise from its beginnings, hopes to see the magazine flourish and wax strong under its new master.

The financing of *Social Education* has never constituted a charge on the budget of the Association, but has been provided for by a fund made up in large part by the residue of a grant from the Carnegie Corporation to the Commission on the Social Studies, and augmented by royalties arising out of the sale of volumes published by the Commission on the Social Studies. At the end of the fiscal year 1938-39 there was a balance of \$11,425.95 standing still to the credit of this fund. It remains earmarked for the purpose of *Social Education* and will be paid out for that purpose until it is exhausted. The Association has assumed no responsibility for the further maintenance of *Social Education*. The following paragraph is quoted from the Editor's report:

The editorial expenses of *Social Education* for the year ending August 31, 1939, were \$8188.89, or \$575.80 less than for the preceding year. Receipts from advertising and that part of subscription income (20 per cent) allocated to editorial costs totaled \$4902.68, or \$446.31 more than for the preceding year. The net cost of the magazine, \$3286.21, is accordingly \$1022.19 less than for 1937-38. Editorial expenses will be further reduced during 1939-40, so that it will be necessary to draw less on the reserve funds held by the American Historical Association. This reserve on August 31, 1939, including deposits in New York, totaled \$11,425.95.

Subscriptions to the magazine stood on November 1, 1939, at 2882, an increase of only 13 over the figure of November 1, 1938. The subscription list is not growing, either as rapidly as was expected or as it must if the magazine is to win to a self-sustaining basis.

ANNUAL REPORT. *Proceedings* for 1937 has appeared during the year as Volume I of the *Annual Report* for 1937. *Proceedings* for 1938 is in binding. *Writings on American History* for 1935 has appeared during the year. *Writings* for 1936 is being indexed and will appear shortly. The manuscript for a combined volume of *Writings* for 1937-38 is about one third completed. Dr. Mayo's *Instructions from the British Foreign Office to British Ministers in the United States, 1791-1812*, the manuscript of which was expected two years ago, has not yet been received.

The customary \$8000 printing credit became available at the Government Printing Office on July 1. Of this, a part has been absorbed to meet printing costs on *Writings* for 1935. The balance of \$5861.78 will suffice to cover printing costs on *Proceedings* for 1938 and 1939, *Writings* for 1936,

and to bring out the Mayo volume; or, in lieu of that, partially to defray printing costs on the combined volume of *Writings* for 1937-38.

WRITINGS ON AMERICAN HISTORY. *Writings* is now absorbing the greater part of the annual printing grant. The 1935 volume cost to print \$5432.60, as against \$2833.34 for the 1924 volume. It may be necessary, in view of these mounting printing costs, to adopt some principle of selection to reduce the bulk of the volume. This matter is under consideration by the Committee on *Writings*. By printing *Writings* for 1937-38 in a single volume the Committee had hoped to be but one year in arrears by January 1, 1940. But this plan depended upon the success of the Committee in raising sufficient funds to pay for the editorial work. This editorial work constitutes a continuing charge of about \$2000 a year. Towards this amount the Association has for the past few years made a contribution of \$600. The balance, while Dr. Jameson was alive, was raised by his unaided efforts. Since his death the customary contributors have been rather less helpful. Altogether only \$800 was collected from them during the fiscal year ending August 31, 1939. In order to meet expenses the \$600 appropriated by the Association for the purpose in 1938-39, and again in 1939-40, had to be drawn upon. On the 1st of November, 1939, the Association was indebted to the editors to the amount of \$353.75, and work on *Writings* had to be suspended.

The Executive Committee has long been aware of this distressing state of affairs. It undertook to interest a group of Dr. Jameson's friends in a proposal to raise a fund in his memory, the income from which might be sufficient to finance the editorial costs of *Writings*. But the friends, though entirely loyal to Dr. Jameson's memory, were unanimously of the opinion that conditions in the country were not such as to promise any measure of success in any such enterprise. The Executive Committee has now relieved the Committee on *Writings* from the obligation to provide funds and has transferred that responsibility to the office of the Executive Secretary, leaving to the Committee simply the oversight of editorial work. Fortunately, at this juncture one of Dr. Jameson's old friends, Chancellor Henry D. Sharpe of Brown University, came forward with a contribution of \$500 to meet the current deficit in *Writings*.

This financial problem is a difficult one. The Association is making as large a contribution as it can afford to make. No one will question the fundamental importance of *Writings* and the fundamental necessity, not only of continuing publication but of bringing it up to date. It is hard to believe that there is not enough interest in the maintenance of it among American historians, or among societies devoted to some phase of American history, to provide annually the relatively small sum required. The matter is brought urgently to the attention of all members in the hope that they will discover and stimulate sources of supply. Chancellor Sharpe, in addition to his generous gift, has already offered to head a list of annual contributors.

The Cumulative Index of *Writings*, being prepared by David M. Matteson and financed by a special grant from the American Council of Learned Societies, has made relatively little progress during the year, but the editor promises better things for next year. Since Mr. Matteson's index is to be limited to the years 1906-1930, it will be necessary to contemplate a continuation of it almost at once to cover the decade between 1930 and 1940.

LIST OF MEMBERS. The Association is publishing a list of members as a supplement to the *American Historical Review* for January, 1940. The list was prepared in the office of the Executive Secretary. It was based in part on a questionnaire sent to all the members of the Association with their annual bill for dues in the spring of 1939. Unfortunately, only about 20 per cent of the membership responded to the questionnaire, and funds were not available to undertake any more vigorous canvass of them than could be made through the pages of the *Review*. It is unfortunate that the response was not more general, since it would have provided valuable statistics on the distribution of historical interests among our members and would have furnished a useful guide for those in search of historians in some particular field. The list was printed at very small cost to the Association by the generous co-operation of the Macmillan Company. There were no editorial costs.

It was originally planned to incorporate with the list of members a statement of research projects in progress by members, but subsequently it was decided that this might more appropriately be reserved for publication as an appendix to the list of doctoral dissertations in progress.

LIST OF DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS. This list has for some years been published annually by the Carnegie Institution of Washington. The Institution has decided to discontinue publication but has offered to subsidize printing costs to the extent of \$300 annually for two years if the Association will undertake its preparation. A list is accordingly being prepared in the Executive Secretary's office and will probably be issued as a supplement to the *Review* for April, 1940. It will include doctoral dissertations in progress in all American universities north of Mexico. In an appendix will appear a list of all research projects in progress in America north of Mexico upon which reports are received. A questionnaire on that subject has already gone out to all members of the Association. An attempt will be made to canvass others through a communication to history departments of American universities. It is not intended to restrict the report of research projects in progress to research by members of the Association.

ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE MEMORIAL FUND PUBLICATIONS. During the year the committee in charge of this fund has published one volume, *The Course of the South to Secession*, by Ulrich B. Phillips, edited by E. Merton Coulter, as a memorial to Professor Phillips, the first chairman of the Committee. Three other projects are in progress: *The Papers of John Jay*, edited by Frank Monaghan; *The Allston Rice Plantation Records*, edited by J. H. Easterby; and *Northern Editorials on Secession*, edited by H. M. Perkins.

The plans of the Committee for publishing a series of monographs on American history, as described in this report last year, have now been perfected and have been advertised in the principal historical periodicals. Manuscripts submitted for the series should be sent to the Washington office of the Association in the first part of January, 1940. All questions regarding the series should be addressed to Professor Roy F. Nichols at the University of Pennsylvania.

LITTLETON-GRISWOLD FUND PUBLICATIONS. The Committee has published nothing during the year, though considerable progress has been made on Dr. Farrell's volume, *Reports of the Superior Court of Connecticut, 1772-73*, which will probably go to press this spring. The following volumes are in progress: *Minutes of the Supreme Court of West Jersey, 1681-1709*; *Records of the Court of Assistants of Connecticut, 1665-71*; *Minutes of the Court of Chancery (South Carolina), 1721-74*; *Records of Kent County Court (Delaware), 1680-1716*; *Minute Book of the Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions, 1684-1730, of Bucks County, Pennsylvania*. The Committee has also made arrangements for three other volumes: *Minutes of the General Court of North Carolina, 1693-1751*; *Accomac County (Virginia) Orders, 1632-45*; *Minutes of the Rhode Island Court of Equity, 1741-43*. The Chairman writes: "At the end of the last fiscal year the funds at the Committee's disposal amounted to \$7069.71. Mrs. Griswold has continued up through the present year to donate to the Committee \$1000 annually. This very great generosity, in addition to her gift to the Association of the fund entrusted to your Committee—which still constitutes the greatest gift made by anyone in this country to the study of our legal history—is deserving of repeated expressions of gratitude."

CARNEGIE REVOLVING FUND PUBLICATIONS. During the past year two books have been published by the committee in charge of this fund: *James Kent: A Study in Conservatism*, by John T. Horton; and *John Tyler, Champion of the Old South*, by O. P. Chitwood. The publication of the study on James Kent was assisted by a subvention from the American Council of Learned Societies. Some changes have been made in the format of these two books as compared with previous publications in the series. The Committee has decided that the format of different volumes had better be adapted to the length and character of the particular offering than made to conform to a uniform pattern. During the year a dozen manuscripts have been examined by the Committee. All but two of them have been rejected. The Committee has not yet reached a final decision regarding these two. By publishing only one or two books each year and by obtaining aid whenever the opportunity offers from other publication funds, the Committee believes that the funds at its disposition may be stretched out over several years to come. Notwithstanding the drafts upon it during the year, the available balance was only reduced by \$230.49. At the end of the fiscal year there was still \$6584.06 standing to the credit of the Fund in the treasury of the Association.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF AMERICAN TRAVEL. No substantial progress has been made upon this project during the past year by reason of the lack of funds. The Chairman states that "many important materials have been collected during the year" and that he "has virtually completed the accumulation of the titles necessary to supplement the *French Travellers in the United States*, which was first published in 1933". He writes:

Dr. James R. Masterson has completed his researches on the various records of travel in North America from 1700 to 1776. The Belgian American Educational Foundation has for many months employed the services of an eminent scholar (Dr. DeSmet) who has been working in Belgian libraries to compile all the information on Belgian travelers in America from the earliest times to 1900. His work, now more than three fourths completed, is a real achievement. . . . But the general editorial plan has not been put in effect for the simple reason that we lack the needed funds. If the matter is further delayed we shall encounter an increasing number of difficulties. Dr. Masterson has already made plans for the separate publication of his researches. The Belgian American Educational Foundation has informed me . . . that they wish to make other arrangements to utilize the results obtained by their Dr. DeSmet, unless we can give them some definite indication that we mean to proceed seriously and promptly with our own arrangements.

In a previous report the Chairman of the Committee estimated that about \$3000 would be necessary in order to proceed with the editorial work. This fund has not been forthcoming. Quite clearly it cannot be drawn from the general funds of the Association. There seem to be only two solutions to the problem: either to abandon the enterprise or to find some benefactor to finance it.

PROGRAM OF THE ANNUAL MEETING. Following the example of the Modern Language Association, an attempt has been made this year to finance the printing of the program by the sale of carefully restricted advertising and by the rental of exhibit space at the headquarters of the annual meeting in Washington. Acting under powers expressly conferred upon the Executive Committee by the Council, the Executive Secretary employed the services of Mr. Donald R. Tobey, who is in charge of advertising for *Social Education*, to undertake the experiment. The results have been very gratifying. We have produced an attractive program, and we have made enough out of the venture to pay all our printing bills and to produce a small surplus. Taking everything into account, the net saving to the Association has amounted to about \$400. Some objection has been raised to the advertising on principle, but it is a little hard to see why we should not follow in our program the practice which we have long followed in our journals, especially since it involves a very considerable saving in drafts upon our operating funds.

COMMITTEE ON HISTORICAL SOURCE MATERIALS. Herbert A. Kellar, the Chairman of this Committee, has made a very impressive report, covering thirty-three pages all told without counting long appendixes on special subjects. Space does not serve to give more than an inkling of this report. It will

be printed in full in *Proceedings* for the year. In brief, it contains an account of the work of five subcommittees: the Committee on Newspapers, of which Robert C. Binkley is Chairman; the Committee on Archives, of which Margaret C. Norton is Chairman; the Committee on Manuscripts, of which Julian P. Boyd is Chairman; the Committee on Business Records, of which Oliver M. Dickerson is Chairman; and the Committee on Library Holdings, of which Douglas C. McMurtrie is Chairman. Considering the fact that these special committees have only been in existence for about nine months, the work they have done is remarkable. The Committee on Newspapers is working out a technique for indexing and microfilming American newspaper files. The Committee on Archives is perfecting plans for publishing a general guide to archive depositories in the United States. The Committee on Manuscripts is contemplating the publication annually of a guide to current manuscript accessions throughout the country. The Committee on Business Records is interesting itself in the organization of an industrial history society and the publication of a guide to depositories of business records in the United States. The Committee on Library Holdings is studying the distribution of printed historical source material in American libraries.

Dr. Kellar, the General Chairman, has found time to familiarize himself with some new techniques of reproduction, and particularly with the micro-print process and the Balsley process. He has been active as well in the formulation of plans for the microfilming of the British Sessional Papers, 1801-1900, of which there is no complete file either in the United States or in Canada. It is estimated that the project will involve the microfilming of about four million pages of print and that it can be done at a cost of about \$30,000. It is hoped that the sale of copies may in large measure repay the original investment. The Association has reason to congratulate itself on the work of this Committee, which continues to play a very active part in making accessible the source material for the historian.

COMMITTEE ON AMERICANA FOR COLLEGE LIBRARIES. Sixteen libraries are now participating in the McGregor Plan, one having been added during the year: the College of Wooster, Wooster, Ohio. This addition was made possible by economies in administrative expenses, and it involves no increase in the grant from the McGregor Fund. In general, operations of the plan follow those outlined in previous reports, and the plan is working well. The Committee maintains constant contact with participating libraries, studies their needs, and co-operates as far as possible in helping them solve their particular problems. It is to be hoped that we may continue to count upon the support of the McGregor Fund for continuance along the present lines.

COMMITTEE ON RADIO. The 1938-39 series of thirty-six radio broadcasts on *The Story Behind the Headlines* ended on June 16, 1939. Of these broadcasts, the first twenty-six were published gratis by the Columbia University Press, together with a short critical bibliography on the subject of the broad-

cast and a second article on some subject of current interest. These Bulletins were sold by the Press at 10 cents a copy or \$2 for the series, and involved no charge upon the budget of the Committee. The last ten broadcasts, with critical bibliographies, were mimeographed by the National Broadcasting Company and distributed gratis upon request from the office of the Radio Committee.

It is always impossible to measure the popular interest in these broadcasts. Perhaps the surest manifestation of interest is in the number of listeners who are willing to write for and pay for copies of the talks. For the first series, 1937-38, the Columbia Press sold altogether 4777 Bulletins; for the second series, 1938-39, 12,117 Bulletins.

The Story Behind the Headlines started its 1939-40 series on October 27 with a grant from the Keith Fund sufficient to enable it to carry on for thirteen weeks. The National Broadcasting Company is again providing two thirds of the money for the program and free time on the air. César Saerchinger is again serving as broadcaster. In order to complete a series of thirty-six talks during 1939-40, we shall still have to raise about \$1900. Last year we got a grant for that amount from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Unfortunately, they have declined to renew the grant this year. The Committee is, however, not without hope of being able to raise the necessary money from other sources. The co-operation of the membership in this matter is urgently solicited.

Once again it seems desirable to point out that these broadcasts are composed in consultation with distinguished scholars, that the critical bibliographies are prepared by experts, and that the subjects are all selected with reference to their immediate popular interest. They should prove of great value for educational purposes, particularly in this year of war when we are devoting much attention to the European scene and to the historical factors influencing the march of events there.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BRITISH HISTORY, 1714-1789. Dr. Stanley Pargellis, the American associate of Professor Medley of the Royal Historical Society in editing this volume, reports progress. Last summer, with the competent assistance of Dr. J. F. Matthias, he finished the checking and revising of the longer sections. He anticipates that another summer's work, under equally favorable conditions, will bring the bibliography nearly to completion. He has received no financial assistance from the Association but has operated on a subvention from the Royal Historical Society, the other partner to the enterprise. That subvention is nearly exhausted. A grant of \$100 from Yale University for clerical assistance is acknowledged with much gratitude.

The projected new edition of Charles Gross's *The Sources and Literature of English History . . . to about 1485*, of which the Association is one of the sponsors, has made little or no progress during the year because of lack of funds.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATION POLICY. The Council at its last meeting

appointed a special committee, consisting of the Chairmen of the Beveridge Committee, the Littleton-Griswold Committee, the Carnegie Revolving Fund Committee, and the Executive Secretary, to consider the general publication policy of the Association. The Committee has examined publication contracts and all available figures on costs, sales, and royalties. It has reached the general conclusion that, in view of all the circumstances, the Association would probably lose money by changing its present publication arrangements. It accordingly recommends the continuance of the *status quo* and asks to be discharged.

PRIZES OFFERED BY THE ASSOCIATION. The George Louis Beer Prize was awarded this year to Pauline Relyea Anderson's *Background of Anti-English Feeling in Germany, 1890-1902* (Washington, American University Press, 1939). The Committee reports that only three manuscripts were submitted in competition and offers several explanations for this but no constructive suggestions. They are satisfied that the prize received adequate publicity.

The Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Prize was awarded this year to John T. Horton's *James Kent: A Study in Conservatism*, with "honorable mention" to Sears Riepna's *Young America: A Study in American Nationalism before the Civil War*, and to Arthur M. Schlesinger, jr.'s *Orestes Brownson*. The Committee reports that thirty-seven books and nine manuscripts were submitted for the prize. It issued a circular to two hundred history departments calling attention to the prize, and it undertook to establish direct contact with authors of pertinent books listed in the New York *Times* book announcements. Possibly there is some direct relation between the publicity programs of these two committees and the response to the prizes offered.

MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE. This Committee during the past year has lost its very competent Chairman, Professor Elmer Ellis, who was forced to resign from pressure of other duties. The Executive Committee appointed Professor Francis P. Weisenburger to succeed him. During the current year the Committee has concentrated its attack on the northeastern states from Michigan on the west to South Carolina on the south and has divided the area in question among a number of local chairmen. The gross gain in membership for the year ending December 1, 1939, was 352, as compared with a gross gain of 414 for the previous year. The net gain was 108, as compared with 188 for the previous year. The year's increase in membership was chiefly in the following states: New York (45), Illinois (43), District of Columbia (34), Massachusetts (30), Pennsylvania (29), California (23), Michigan (16), Ohio (11), Wisconsin (10). In all of the other states there were less than ten new members, with no new members at all in ten states. In general, we continue to add to our new members at the rate of about 10 per cent a year, but we lose too many old members (in 1939, 41 by death, 66 by resignation, 137 dropped for nonpayment of dues). And too many of our members (526) are delinquent in the payment of their dues.

THE FINANCIAL SITUATION. The report of the Board of Trustees, distributed with the report of the Treasurer at the annual meeting, reveals the fact that the net result of the year's management of the investments of the Association has been an increase in the market value of securities held by the Association from \$214,182.25 to \$215,978.85, an increase of about 8/10 of one per cent. During the same period the income increased from \$8069 to \$8746, an increase of about 8¼ per cent. Charges made by the Fiduciary Trust Company for the management of securities amounted to \$979.34; brokerage charges on purchases and sales amounted to \$312.50. The Board of Trustees incurred no expenses in the performance of its duties, and the Association has reason to congratulate itself upon being able to secure gratis the advice upon its investments of a group of gentlemen, every one of whom is a recognized expert in the field of finance.

A detailed statement of the operating finances of the Association at the end of the fiscal year has been presented in the Treasurer's report, which was distributed at the annual meeting. Operating expenses were less by \$467.48 than had been estimated in the budget, the chief economies being in charges upon the contingent fund of the Washington office. Operating receipts exceeded estimates by \$1690.49. The bulk of this increase came from two sources: our actual receipts from membership fees exceeded estimates by \$1380.88; our receipts from investments exceeded estimates by \$739.78. On the other hand, our profits from the *Review* were about \$450 less than we expected. The consequence is that we were \$2000 better off at the end of the fiscal year than we expected to be, and yet our total expenditures exceeded our income by about \$130. This is not a menacing figure, but we must be aware of the fact that we are spending every cent that we should be spending, and that any enlargement of our activities in any direction should not be contemplated except on the basis of increased resources. We are not well-to-do, and we must continue to practice every economy and to reach out for every legitimate source of revenue if we are to keep on the right side of the ledger.

CONYERS READ, *Executive Secretary*.

THE OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR 1940

President: Max Farrand, Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California.

First Vice-President: James Westfall Thompson, University of California, Berkeley.

Second Vice-President: Arthur M. Schlesinger, Harvard University.

Executive Secretary: Conyers Read, 226 South 16th St., Philadelphia.

Treasurer: Solon J. Buck, The National Archives, Washington, D. C.

Assistant Secretary-Treasurer: Patty W. Washington, 740 Fifteenth St., N. W., Washington, D. C.

Editor of the Annual Report: Lowell Joseph Ragatz, George Washington University.

Council: (ex officio) the president, vice-presidents, executive secretary, treasurer, and managing editor of the *American Historical Review*; (former presidents) Albert Bushnell Hart, Andrew C. McLaughlin, Worthington C. Ford, Edward P. Cheyney, Charles M. Andrews, Henry Osborn Taylor, Evarts B. Greene, Carl Becker, Herbert E. Bolton, Charles A. Beard, Michael I. Rostovtzeff, Charles H. McIlwain, Guy Stanton Ford, Frederic L. Paxson, William Scott Ferguson; (elected members) Isaac J. Cox, Carl Wittke, Eugene C. Barker, Laurence B. Packard, R. J. Kerner, Allan Nevins, Merle Curti, Louis R. Gottschalk.

Executive Committee of the Council: Laurence B. Packard, Amherst College, chairman; Merle E. Curti, William Scott Ferguson, Allan Nevins; (ex officio) Solon J. Buck, Conyers Read.

Committee on Appointments: Laurence B. Packard, Amherst College, chairman; Merle E. Curti, James Westfall Thompson, Carl Wittke; (ex officio) Conyers Read.

Board of Trustees: Shepard Morgan, Chase National Bank, New York City, chairman; W. Randolph Burgess, Leon Fraser, Stanton Griffis, Thomas I. Parkinson.

Standing Committee on Government Publications: W. Stull Holt, Johns Hopkins University, chairman; Homer C. Hockett, J. Fred Rippy.

The Pacific Coast Branch: President, Ralph H. Lutz, Stanford University; Vice-President, Waldemar Westergaard, University of California at Los Angeles; Secretary-Treasurer, Francis H. Herrick, Mills College; *Council*, the above officers and Percy W. Christian, W. Henry Cooke, Merrill M. Jensen, Richard W. Van Alstyne; Managing Editor of the *Pacific Historical Review*, Louis Knott Koontz.

Committee on Program for the Fifty-fifth Annual Meeting: Merle Curti, Teachers College, Columbia University, chairman; Howard K. Beale, Harry Carman, Jesse Clarkson, Shepard Clough, Thomas Cochran, Ross Hoffman, Frank J. Klingberg, Sidney Packard, Earle H. Pritchard, J. Salwyn Schapiro, Mary Wilhelmine Williams.

Committee on Local Arrangements: Shepard Morgan, Chase National Bank, New York City, chairman.

Committee on Nominations: Howard K. Beale, University of North Carolina, chairman; Curtis P. Nettels, Judith B. Williams, Eugene N. Anderson, Paul H. Buck.

The American Historical Review: Managing Editor, Robert Livingston Schuyler, 535 West 114th Street, New York City; Assistant Editor, Eleanor D. Smith; Board of Editors, Arthur E. R. Boak, William L. Langer, Nellie Neilson, Dexter Perkins, J. G. Randall, Preserved Smith.

Social Education: Editor, Erling M. Hunt, 204 Fayerweather Hall, Colum-

bia University; Assistant Editor, Frances S. Brownlee; Executive Board, Harold F. Clark, Columbia University, chairman; (ex officio) Conyers Read, secretary; Ronald Beasley, Paul R. Hanna, Ella Hawkinson, Erling M. Hunt, James A. Michener, Bessie L. Pierce, Edwin H. Reeder, Edgar B. Wesley, Howard E. Wilson, Louis Wirth.

Committee on Membership: Francis P. Weisenburger, Ohio State University, chairman, with power to appoint his associates.

Committees on Prizes: *John H. Dunning Prize*, Viola F. Barnes, Mount Holyoke College, chairman; Paul H. Buck, Philip Davidson, jr. *George Louis Beer Prize*, Lawrence D. Steefel, University of Minnesota, chairman; Ralph Haswell Lutz, Arthur J. May. *Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Prize*, Walter E. Webb, University of Texas, chairman; Richard O. Cummings, Colin B. Goodykoontz. *Herbert Baxter Adams Prize*, W. K. Jordan, Scripps College, chairman; Franklin L. Baumer, Philip E. Mosely.

Committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund for Publications: John D. Hicks, University of Wisconsin, chairman; Verner W. Crane, Frances E. Gillespie, Charles E. Odegaard, Raymond J. Sontag, Edward Whitney.

Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund: Roy F. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Julius W. Pratt, Laura A. White.

Committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund: Francis S. Philbrick, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Carroll T. Bond, John Dickinson, Walton H. Hamilton, Leonard W. Labaree, Richard B. Morris, Thomas I. Parkinson.

Committee on Historical Source Materials: Herbert A. Kellar, McCormick Historical Association, chairman. *Special Committees:* *Archives*, Margaret C. Norton, Illinois State Library, chairman; *Manuscripts*, Julian P. Boyd, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, chairman; *Newspapers*, Robert C. Binkley, Western Reserve University, chairman; *Business Records*, Oliver M. Dickerson, Colorado State Teachers College, chairman; *Library Holdings*, Douglas C. McMurtrie, American Imprints Survey, Evanston, chairman; *Research Associate*, Everett E. Edwards, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

Conference of Historical Societies: C. C. Crittenden, North Carolina Historical Commission, chairman; Dorothy C. Barck, New York Historical Society, 170 Central Park West, New York City, secretary.

Committee on Publication of the Annual Report: Solon J. Buck, The National Archives, chairman; Lowell Joseph Ragatz, St. George L. Sioussat, Leo F. Stock.

Committee on Writings on American History: Lester Cappon, jr., University of Virginia, chairman; Solon J. Buck, Everett E. Edwards.

Committee on the Bibliography of American Travel: Frank Monaghan, Yale University, chairman; Julian P. Boyd, Harry M. Lydenberg.

Committee on Radio: Conyers Read, University of Pennsylvania, chair-

man; Phillips Bradley, Stephen Duggan, Felix Greene, John A. Krout, Walter C. Langsam, Shepard Morgan, Charles G. Proffitt, Evelyn Plummer Read, Ralph S. Rounds, César Saerchinger, Raymond Gram Swing, Elizabeth Y. Webb.

Committee on Americana for College Libraries: Randolph G. Adams, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, chairman; Kathryn L. Slagle, secretary; Arthur S. Aiton, Thomas W. Streeter, Lawrence C. Wroth, Julian Parks Boyd, Conyers Read.

Representatives of the Association in Allied Bodies: *American Council of Learned Societies*, Wallace Notestein, William Scott Ferguson. *International Committee of Historical Sciences*, Waldo G. Leland, J. T. Shotwell. *Social Science Research Council*, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Roy F. Nichols, Guy S. Ford.

The committee of the Association for the award of the John Dunning Prize in American History wishes to announce that, according to a new ruling, competing manuscripts must be in the hands of the chairman, Professor Viola F. Barnes, Mount Holyoke College, by June 1. Details concerning conditions of the award will be sent upon request.

OTHER HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

Among recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following may be noted: photographs and photostats of manuscript copies, of the ninth, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, of the *Commentary on Acts* and *Retractation* by the Venerable Bede; volume of photographic and printed copies of Magna Carta and of papers pertaining to it; facsimile of page from John of Gaddesden's book, 1492; accounts and memoranda of the Walker family, 1656 to 1813 (fragmentary volume); ecclesiastical records of the province of Cagayan in Luzón, Philippine Islands, 1707 to 1799; papers of, and relating to, Alexander Hamilton and his family, 1748-1889; twenty-nine letters of John Gilbert Cooper, 1745 to 1754, and one letter of Robert Dodsley, December 9, 1749 (microfilm copies); memoranda, papers, and records of Abraham Hasbrouck and his family, in Ulster County, New York, 1749 to 1879; extract from minutes of the Continental Congress for November 1, 1777, signed by Charles Thomson; Edmé and Edmond C. Genêt correspondence, 1779 (forty-seven items); Elbridge Gerry papers, 1780 to 1836, typewritten copies (twenty-seven items); letter from William Moultrie to George Washington, April 7, 1786 (photostatic copy); Shippen family papers, 1789, 1790, and 1840 (twenty-one items); letter from William Bingham to Wilson Cary Nicholas, relating to the first collection of books purchased for the Library of Congress, March 28, 1801; journal of the Reverend Noah Fidler, Methodist circuit rider, Ohio and western Pennsylvania, 1801 to 1805 (photostat copy); letter from Aaron

Burr to Isaac Mason (Meason?), April 27, 1805; volume of accounts in French of a blacksmith shop (locality not determined), 1819-85; papers relating to internal improvements in South Carolina, 1827-28 (copies); papers of Col. Nathan Morse, 1827 to 1835 (eighteen items); Gideon Welles, Edgar Welles, and Samuel Welles papers, 1836 to 1885 (350 items); papers of Jane Addams, 1844 to 1935; letter from Alexander H. Stephens to Col. J. W. Harris, July 11, 1848; papers of John A. J. Creswell, 1854 to 1885 (seventeen volumes); diaries of Samuel J. B. V. Gilpin, Union soldier, 1861 to 1864 (five volumes); letters from Union soldiers (Arthur Vanhorn and others) in camp to relatives at home, 1861 to 1865; additional papers of John Barrett (American journalist and diplomat), 1861 to 1938; diary of John Hughes, jr., sergeant, Co. G, 28th Regiment, Iowa Volunteers, near Vicksburg, July 1-6, 1863 (photostat copy); diary and papers of E. N. Gilpin, Third Iowa Cavalry (clerk at Headquarters of General Emory Upton), 1864-65; extracts from field notes by C. D. Mitchell, March 15-May 14, 1865; additional papers of Robert G. Ingersoll, 1866 to 1896; papers of Edmund Clarence Stedman, American poet, 1871 to 1923 (seventeen items); papers of Richard Washburn Child, 1892 to 1928; papers of Rear-Admiral Richmond Pearson Hobson, also, papers of the World Narcotic Defense Association and the Constitutional Democracy Association, of which associations Admiral Hobson was president; papers supplemental to the Woodrow Wilson Collection; additional papers of Chandler Parsons Anderson.

The recently published *Fifth Annual Report* of the Archivist of the United States traces the progress made during the fiscal year 1938-39 in surveying, accessioning, rehabilitating, arranging, and servicing records and in appraising records that various agencies of the government have listed for disposition. Other topics upon which information is given include the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library and the National Historical Publications Commission. A descriptive list of accessions received by the National Archives during the year appears as an appendix. The report is illustrated by a war and neutrality sequence of twenty-two reproductions of documents. Notable recent additions to the growing body of agricultural records in the National Archives are basic informational materials, 1908-22, collected by the Farm Management Survey of the Department of Agriculture and somewhat similar records pertaining to large-scale farming in 1933. Records concerning agricultural rehabilitation cases handled by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration in 1935 and loans made by the Regional Agricultural Credit Corporations, 1932-38, contain materials for studying phases of the attack on the depression. Recent accessions received from the Interior and War departments have reunited in the National Archives a collection of manuscript maps and route profiles of the Pacific Railroad surveys of 1853-56. Among records concerning military and naval affairs received in recent months are 5200 glass-plate negatives of Virginia documents pertaining to

the Revolutionary War, which were made for the War Department in 1914 and 1915; general correspondence files of the Offices of the Adjutant General, 1861-1917, the Secretary of the Navy, 1885-1926, and the Judge Advocate General of the Navy, 1880-1907, and of the Navy Department Bureau of Aeronautics, 1921-35; and records of the Marine Corps expeditionary forces in Haiti, 1915-34, and in Nicaragua, 1926-33. Other materials recently received include records of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior, 1849-1907; logbooks of vessels in the former Revenue Cutter Service and the Coast Guard, 1850-1935; records of the former War Department Bureau of Insular Affairs relative to Puerto Rico, 1914-34, the Philippines, 1898-1935, customs matters in the Territories, 1899-1935, and the Dominican Customs Receivership, 1905-35; monthly reports of superintendents of national parks, 1924-35; and general files from the Immigration and Naturalization Service pertaining to immigration and deportation of aliens, 1921-32, and to applications by American citizens for the admission of alien relatives, 1924-37.

Yale University is assembling a comprehensive collection of material dealing with the present war period. This activity, organized early in September, is in the charge of a faculty committee of which Professor Sherman Kent of the department of history is chairman. The purpose as outlined by the committee is to "secure documents of all sorts, printed and manuscript, official and unofficial, relating directly or indirectly to the present conflict, but above all to obtain ephemeral publications such as proclamations, posters, propagandist literature, and pamphlets issued by civil governments, military authorities, societies, or individuals, and ultimately, personal diaries and letters". The volume of documents received is already considerable. In addition to newspapers, periodicals, and official pamphlets it includes propaganda, not only from European belligerent governments but from Japan, China, and other countries, Civil Defense and A.R.P. booklets and posters from England and similar items from France, printed forms dealing with the evacuation of children, and personal stories of the evacuation. Two first-hand accounts of the sinking of the *Athenia* have been presented. As gifts have arrived the scope of the collection has widened even beyond what was first planned. The conflicts in Europe and Asia affect every nation in the world, and publications of neutral countries constitute a considerable part of what has been received. An interesting division of the collection contains literature dealing with activities in this country for the maintenance of American neutrality and includes a gift from Senator Robert A. Taft of about 150,000 letters and telegrams sent to him prior to the Senate vote on repeal of the arms embargo. Mr. Russell Pruden, for some years associate curator of the Edward M. House Collection, is curator and, with the assistance of the library staff, is endeavoring to make the materials available as they come in. The new collection supplements Yale's valuable store of material dealing with the last war, as the committee's efforts have resulted

not only in securing papers of present-day affairs but also in filling gaps in the documentary history of the 1914-18 conflict.

The seventh conference of Scandinavian historians met in Copenhagen on August 8-12. A large number of papers were read, several of them referring either to the nineteenth century renaissance in Scandinavian historiography or to the provenience of sources in foreign archives that might be important for Scandinavian history. A mild sensation was occasioned at one session by the Icelandic archivist, Gudmundsson, who asserted that Iceland had been settled not so much by Norwegians as by "east" Scandinavians.

The Alianza Cultural Uruguay-Estados Unidos de Norte América has recently been formed in Montevideo with the object of promoting cultural relations between Uruguay and the United States. Its program is a broad one—to advance reciprocal knowledge of the culture of the two countries by contacts between institutions having similar objects, exchange of publications, establishment of fellowships, and visits of individuals and groups for purposes of study. The Alianza solicits the co-operation of the American Historical Association. Communications should be addressed to Señor Eduardo Blanco Acevedo or Señor Carlos Alberto Estapé, its president and secretary respectively, Edificio de la Bolsa de Comercio, Montevideo, Uruguay.

As a result of plans made by the Historical Section at the 1939 meeting of the Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science arrangements have now been completed for publication of a *Journal of Australian and New Zealand Historical Studies*. Sponsored by a strong committee of university teachers and librarians, this will be the first scholarly review of its kind to be published in either dominion. The *Journal* will deal with all aspects of Australian and New Zealand historical scholarship, and the range of subjects to be covered will include the following: (a) the philosophy of history and problems of historiography; (b) the history of Australia and New Zealand, embracing such fields as discovery and exploration, economic expansion, constitutional development, migration, and cultural development; (c) relations between members of the British Commonwealth of Nations; (d) the historical background of South Pacific affairs. In addition to general articles in these fields it is planned to include such features as historical revisions, reports on methods and problems of history teaching, lists of unpublished theses and summaries of theses, annual lists of writings on Australian history, library and archive notices, notes and news, correspondence, lists of historical manuscripts acquired by public repositories since January 1, 1937, migration of historical manuscripts as revealed by sale catalogues, and reviews and short notices. Items now in preparation for early issues of the *Journal* include a critical bibliography of all existing volumes of collected Australian biography, a listing of accessions

in the National Library at Canberra, and a revision article on the early period of Dutch discovery, 1605-42. The New Zealand National Historical Committee has recently issued an index to New Zealand theses covering the years 1927-37, and arrangements are being made to supply copies of this index to all libraries subscribing to the new *Journal*. The *Journal* is being published by the Melbourne University Press and will appear twice yearly. The first number will be issued in the current April. The subscription price has not yet been fixed but will probably not exceed five shillings (Aust.) or approximately one dollar. Further information and a brochure containing specimen pages may be obtained from the secretary of the Organizing Committee, Mr. G. F. James, Department of History, University of Melbourne, Carlton N.3, Victoria, Australia.

Houghton Mifflin Company have projected a series of books to be entitled "Life in America" designed to "present a new and sharper picture of the American scene". They offer prizes of \$2500 each for manuscripts suitable for this series. "A prize winning manuscript may be the life story of a man or woman of any profession, business, or occupation whatsoever. It may be written in the first person by the subject of the book, it may be the biography of someone of this or an earlier generation, or it may deal with some important aspect of America as expressed in the lives of its people". Inquiries should be addressed to Life-in-America Editor, Houghton Mifflin Company, 2 Park Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

The Theodore Marriner Memorial Expedition, headed by Dr. Calvin W. McEwan of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, left this country in February to excavate the mound Tell Fakhriyah, located between Aleppo and Mosul near the Turkish border. The expedition was sent by the Oriental Institute at the invitation of the French mandatory authorities in Syria. It is believed that the excavation may uncover the ruins of Washshukani, capital of the state of Mitanni, which held the balance of power between the Hittites and the Egyptians about 1500 B. C. Information of great value for the history of the second millennium B. C. has been obtained from excavations at Hattushah, the Hittite capital, and Tell el-Amarna, the Egyptian capital, and it is hoped that the work at Tell Fakhriyah will make important additions to it.

On April 14 the Pan American Union, the international organization of the twenty-one American republics, will celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of its founding at the First International Conference of American States, which met at Washington from October 2, 1889, to April 19, 1890. The resolution creating the Union was approved on April 14, 1890, a day which for some years past has been observed as Pan American Day. Commemoration exercises will be held in Washington, and programs will be presented throughout North, Central, and South America.

In its inception the Pan American Union was merely a commercial bureau, organized for the purpose of collecting and publishing commercial statistics and information on the customs laws and regulations of the American republics. With each succeeding conference the scope of the organization has been broadened, so that at present it is a center of information on virtually every phase of inter-American activity. Administrative divisions have been established on foreign trade, economics and finance, statistics, agricultural co-operation, international law, intellectual co-operation, travel, and labor and social information. A specialized library of 100,000 volumes has been developed, and a large number of publications, including a monthly bulletin in English, Spanish, and Portuguese, are issued. The Pan American Union also serves as the permanent secretariat of the International Conferences of American States.

With the growth of the Pan American movement various specialized entities have been established. Of especial interest to historians is the Pan American Institute of Geography and History, which was created pursuant to a resolution adopted at the Sixth International Conference of American States, which met at Havana in 1928. The institute, with headquarters in Mexico City, undertakes the publication and distribution of geographical and historical studies and serves as an organ of co-operation between the geographical and historical associations of America.

One of the major events to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the Pan American Union will be the Eighth American Scientific Congress, which will be held in Washington from May 10 to 18 under the auspices of the Government of the United States. Invitations have been extended to the governments of all the American republics as well as to educational institutions and scientific associations. One of the eleven sections into which the congress will be divided will be devoted to history and geography, with Professor Clarence H. Haring of Harvard University serving as chairman.

The Committee on Scientific Aids to Learning, of which President Conant of Harvard is chairman, has made a grant to cover the cost of making a microfilm master negative, on the most expensive film, of sets of volumes of scientific and learned journals. This permits the nonprofit Bibliofilm Service to supply microfilm copies at the sole positive copy cost, namely one cent per page for odd volumes or a special rate of half a cent per page for any properly copyable ten or more consecutive volumes. The number of pages will be estimated on request to American Documentation Institute, Offices of Science Service, 2101 Constitution Avenue, Washington, D. C.

At the opening of the present war in the Far East, the Nankai Institute of Economics of Nankai University in Tientsin, China, suffered severely from bombardment and fire. The institute has now established its headquarters at Shapingpa, Chungking, China, but its present working library is sadly

deficient. The institute appeals to the generosity of American scholars for books in the field of the social sciences, particularly economics, no matter how old. Parcels should be sent by Railway Express to the institute at its present address.

Errata in the Documents section of the last issue of the *Review*, "The Two John Nicholasases": page 345, paragraph 3, line 6, *for* seventeen or eighteen *read* twenty-seven or twenty-eight; page 346, line 10, *for* adolescent *read* enthusiastic.

PERSONAL

Charles Bémont, well known to all students of medieval history, died on September 20. Born in Paris on November 16, 1848, of humble origin, he pursued the conventional course of schooling. On the completion of his studies at the École des chartes, Gabriel Monod, who was founding the *Revue historique* in 1876, selected him as its secretary, and he remained with the *Revue* the rest of his life, from 1907 as co-director. From 1878 till 1890 he taught at the École alsacienne, a private school in Paris with the rank of a lycée. In 1887 he became *maître des conférences* and in 1896 associate director at the École des hautes études, where he exercised an influence on historical study comparable with that of Monod at the École normale. From the outset of his career the field of research most attractive to him was medieval England. Thus his first studies, the two works for which he is most widely known, were "De la condamnation de Jean Sans-Terre par la cour des pairs de France en 1202" (*Revue historique*, 1886, but first published in Latin in 1884) and *Simon de Montfort, comte de Leicester* (1884). In 1892 appeared the well-known *Chartes des libertés anglaises* with a historical introduction and a critical commentary. In 1893 he contributed to Lavissee and Rambaud, *Histoire générale*, the chapters on England from the origins to the death of Henry VII. From 1896 to 1906 he issued three volumes of *Rôles gascons* (1254-1307), with critical introductions and a sketch of the history illustrated by the documents. In 1914 he published the *Recueil d'actes relatifs à l'administration des rois d'Angleterre en Guyenne au xiii^e siècle*, dealing with local life and royal administration in that area. The esteem in which the historical world held him was shown by the publication in 1913 of an excellent volume of short studies, *Mélanges Bémont*, contributed by his friends and pupils. In 1917 he issued an edition of an incomplete anonymous Latin chronicle, with a French translation, entitled *Le premier divorce d'Henri VIII et le schisme d'Angleterre*, attributing it to Nicholas Harpsfield, a humanist and a churchman. In 1930 there was published a new edition of his *Simon de Montfort*, translated into English, not always felicitously. He endeavored (on the whole with success) to incorporate in it the results of nearly half a century of research on the period by many students. But the dominant interest of his life was the *Revue*

historique, for which he labored unceasingly in the manifold ways known best to editors of similar periodicals. In 1898 began his invaluable series of bibliographical articles dealing with the publications on the history of medieval England. Many honors came to him. He was a member of the Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres, an honorary doctor of Oxford and Manchester, a corresponding fellow of the Royal Historical Society, of the British Academy, and of the Mediaeval Academy of America. In 1932 he was decorated as Commander of the Legion of Honor by the government.

Robert Carlton Clark, head of the department of history at the University of Oregon, died suddenly on December 4 while lecturing to one of his classes. He was born in Texas on March 4, 1877, was graduated from Texas Christian University in 1894, received the master's degree from the University of Texas in 1901 and the doctorate from the University of Wisconsin in 1905. He became a member of the faculty of the University of Oregon in 1907 and head of the department of history in 1920. He was for many years a member of the Board of Directors of the Oregon Historical Society and at various times of the editorial boards of the *Pacific Historical Review* and the *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*. He was a former president of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association. Professor Clark was the author of *Beginnings of Texas* (1907) and *History of the Willamette Valley* (1927) and co-author of a *History of Oregon* (1925). He was also the author of numerous historical articles dealing primarily with the Pacific Northwest. In 1937 he became editor of the *Oregon Historical Quarterly*. During recent years he devoted a great deal of attention to the history of the Hudson's Bay Company in the Pacific Northwest and was undoubtedly the leading authority on that subject. At the time of his death he was engaged in preparing the introduction to the fourth volume of the Hudson Bay Record Society Publications containing the letters of Dr. John McLoughlin.

William Peterfield Trent, professor of English in Columbia University for twenty-seven years and since 1928 professor emeritus, died after a long illness on December 6. As a scholar and teacher he exercised an important influence in promoting the study of literary history as an integral part of history as a whole. He was born at Richmond in 1862. After graduation from the University of Virginia he studied law at Richmond and history at the Johns Hopkins. In 1888 he became professor of English at the University of the South, where he founded and edited the *Sewanee Review*. In 1892 he published a biography of William Gilmore Simms which won the approval of judicious students of American life though not of unreconstructed Southerners. Among the former was Theodore Roosevelt, who became the author's friend and introduced him to Brander Matthews. This led to his appointment in 1900 to the chair of English in Barnard College

and to his active participation in graduate instruction in Columbia University. He published a *History of American Literature, 1607-1865* in 1903 and in the years following a number of volumes of literary essays dealing largely with American subjects. By these writings but still more by the direction he gave to graduate studies he led the way toward a more critical and less provincial or merely "literary" treatment of American literature as in the broadest sense an expression of American life. Of all writers in English, Milton was undoubtedly the one who meant most to him, the Milton of *Areopagitica* as well as the Milton of *Lycidas* and *Paradise Lost*. In 1910 he proposed to the Columbia University Press the publication of the first complete edition of Milton's works. This project, interrupted by the World War, was finally completed in 1938 by a group of Professor Trent's colleagues and pupils. His principal energies during the latter part of his active life were directed to the investigation of the life, writings, and times of Daniel Defoe. Beginning with the intention of writing a brief account of the author of *Robinson Crusoe*, he became involved in an attempt to learn all that could be learned about one of the most prolific as well as one of the most gifted of English authors. His knowledge enabled him to assemble an important collection of books by or about Defoe or otherwise relating to the age of William and Mary and of Anne. This collection is now in the Boston Public Library. He contributed the chapter on Defoe in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, and he published a brief popular introduction to the study of Defoe, *Daniel Defoe: How to know Him* (1916), but his life of Defoe with a bibliography much more extensive than the life still remains in manuscript.

Abbé A. Couillard Després, historian of Acadia and French Canada, died on December 8. Born at St. Albans, Vermont, in 1876, he was educated at the seminaries of St. Hyacinthe and Montreal. He served in several pastoral charges in Quebec and restored the church and parsonage of Notre Dame de Sorel. He was a fellow of the Royal Society of Canada and member of several Canadian and American historical societies. His early historical writing grew from his interest in his Canadian progenitor, Louis Hébert, whom he commemorated in *La première famille française au Canada* (1907) and in *Louis Hébert* (1914). His principal other works concerning French Canada were: *Histoire des seigneurs de la Rivière-du-Sud* (1912); *Histoire de la seigneurie et de la paroisse de St. Ours* (two volumes, 1915-17); *Noblesse de France et du Canada* (1916); and *Histoire de Sorel* (1925). Abbé Després was perhaps best known for his controversies with Émile Lauvrière over the early history of Acadia and the rival merits of Charles de la Tour and Charles d'Aulnay, the principal product of which was *Charles de St. Étienne de la Tour et son temps* (1930).

Ernst Gagliardi, professor of history at the University of Zurich, died on January 22 at the age of fifty-eight. His most important work was his

Geschichte der Schweiz, von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart (two volumes, Zurich, 1934-37, a revision of an earlier book published in 1920). Among his other publications was *Bismarck's Entlassung* (Volume I, Tübingen, 1927), the second volume of which is soon to appear.

Charles Clinton Swisher, professor emeritus of history at George Washington University since 1926, died on February 4 at the age of ninety-three. After graduating from Yale in 1876 he studied law at Columbia and history and other subjects in foreign universities, including those of Paris, Berlin, and Heidelberg. After practicing law in New York City from 1881 to 1883 he spent several years in Mexico in the development of coffee and cocoa plantations. His *History of the Religious Orders in Mexico* (1888) was rewarded by an honorary decoration from the pope, but it led to an order for his banishment from Mexico and the confiscation of his lands there. This was later rescinded, but he returned to the United States in 1893. After graduate study at Cornell he went to George Washington as professor of history in 1896 and for ten years taught all the history courses there. Afterwards he specialized in medieval history.

After battling heroically for more than a year against a paralysis of the throat, William E. Dodd died of pneumonia on February 9 at his country home, Round Hill, Virginia, at the age of seventy. Born in Clayton, North Carolina, Dodd took his bachelor's and master's degrees at the Virginia Polytechnic Institute and received his doctor's degree in history at the University of Leipzig in 1900. From 1900 to 1908 he was professor of history at Randolph-Macon Woman's College, whence he was called to be professor of American history (and eventually head of the department) at the University of Chicago. Professor Dodd's teaching career of over thirty years came to a close in 1933, when President Roosevelt appointed him ambassador to Berlin. In this most difficult of American diplomatic posts Ambassador Dodd showed great determination in his protests to Foreign Minister von Neurath and to Hitler himself against Nazi attacks on American citizens in Germany, and in his speeches he did not hesitate to convey indirectly a condemnation of the Nazi regime, which violated the liberal Jeffersonian principles on which he had been nourished. Under the circumstances, it is not to be wondered at that when he left his post, at the close of 1937, his departure was not graced by the usual official compliments or even mentioned in the strictly controlled Nazi press. Back in the United States, he continued his strictures on the Hitler regime, drawing a protest from the German embassy at Washington to which our State Department replied that as a private citizen Mr. Dodd was free to express his opinions in a democratic country. Professor Dodd's contributions to American historiography were notable. Jefferson, Lee, and Wilson were his heroes. His life of Jefferson, written in German, bore the title *Jefferson's Rückkehr zur Politik*.

In 1920 he published *Woodrow Wilson and his Work*, perhaps the best single volume biography of the great war president; and, with Ray Stannard Baker, he edited the *Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson*. His *The Cotton Kingdom: A Chronicle of the Old South* (1919) is the gem of the *Chronicles of America* series. His writings also include *Jefferson Davis, Statesmen of the Old South*, and *Lincoln or Lee*. Straightforwardness was a distinguishing characteristic of Professor Dodd's writing. Throughout the years of his teaching at Chicago he remained a spokesman for his native South. He evidently set Lee above Lincoln in his little volume comparing the two men, and in his biography of Wilson (written at a moment when the great idealist was experiencing his bitterest frustration) there are passages of undue asperity against the commercialized and obstructive policies of the north-eastern states. For all that, his work is solid and honest, and his passing "leaves an empty space against the sky" for his many friends and colleagues in American history.

James Clyde McGregor died suddenly at his home in Washington, Pennsylvania, on February 15 in his fifty-seventh year. A graduate of Washington and Jefferson College in the class of 1905, he took his master's degree there in 1908 and his doctorate at the University of Pennsylvania in 1913. That same year he was called back to his alma mater as substitute professor of history and government, an appointment that was before long made permanent. With departmental reorganization, Dr. McGregor was made Linn Professor of Political Science, but he retained charge of the work in American history, and he always had an especial interest in United States constitutional history. He was author of *The Disruption of Virginia*, published in 1922. During the twenty-seven years that he was on the faculty of his alma mater he devoted his thought and energy primarily to the task of teaching and won a deserved reputation as a stimulating teacher.

The Nazi terror in Poland has taken a heavy toll of Polish historians. Stanislaw Estreicher, formerly professor of law in Cracow University and well known as a writer on historical and political subjects, died in the concentration camp at Oranienburg, near Berlin, on December 28. It was reported that he had been offered the premiership of the puppet government of the Polish protectorate which the Germans intended to create and that his refusal was followed by his arrest and deportation to Germany. Jan Sajdak, formerly of Poznan University, also died in a concentration camp. He was an authority on St. Gregory of Nazianzus and wrote on his life and works. Ignace Chrzanowski was one of ten Polish professors whose deaths in a concentration camp at Sachsenhausen were reported in Paris on February 17 by the Polish government in exile. His subject, which he taught at Cracow University, was Polish literature. His principal historical works were a history of Polish literature and a study on Humanism and the

Reformation in Poland. Another victim of the terror was Bronislaw Dembinski, who had taught history in a number of Polish universities. His published writings include books on the history of Poland in the period of the partitions, Polish historiography in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and Russia and the French Revolution, and he was working on a history of Poland's last king, Stanislaus Poniatowski, when the present war broke out. Professor Dembinski was a member of the Polish diet from 1919 to 1922 and later served as undersecretary of state in the ministry of education. He was an honorary D. Litt. of Oxford.

One does not think of John H. Finley, who died in New York City on March 7 in the seventy-seventh year of his age, as a historian, but this is only because the scope of his interests and achievements was so amazingly comprehensive. Educator and college president, editor, public speaker, political scientist, geographer, enthusiastic pedestrian and traveler, philanthropist and champion of all good causes, poet and philosopher, public spirited American and citizen of the world, friend of the great and of the humble—nothing in the present or past of humanity was alien to this great humanist. Dr. Finley's historical writing was distinguished by an intimacy of approach to his subject matter and great literary charm. *The French in the Heart of America* (1915), inspired by a tour, mostly on foot, in the Great Lakes and Mississippi River country, was translated into French and crowned by the French Academy. *A Pilgrim in Palestine* (1919) was the result of personal experiences when he was head of the Red Cross Commission to Palestine during and immediately after the World War. Dr. Finley had much to do with the launching of that monumental historical enterprise, the *Dictionary of American Biography*, and throughout the course of its publication he was associated with J. Franklin Jameson on the committee of management, under whose direction the twenty volumes of the dictionary were brought out. A few days before his death he had completed reading proof on a volume, soon to be published by Charles Scribner's Sons, dealing with Scottish contributions to the development of the United States, a subject in which, because of his ancestry, he was especially interested. Many honors came to him—office and honorary membership in many learned and philanthropic societies and organizations, honorary degrees from thirty-two American and Canadian universities and colleges, decorations from thirteen foreign governments. But neither intellect nor fame separated Dr. Finley from plain people and their concerns. He composed a part of his own epitaph in lines which he once wrote on the death of a fellow club member:

“Sought by the greatest and the least as friend,
He gave himself unsparing to the end;
He even kept death waiting at the door
Till he could do a friend one kindness more.”

Announcement is made of the appointment of visiting professors and instructors for the summer sessions of the following universities: *British Columbia*, Percy A. Martin; *California* (Berkeley), Harry N. Howard; *Colorado*, Arthur W. Hummel, Hans Kohn, Otakar Odložilík, Mary Rait, C. C. Rister; *Columbia*, Harold H. Fisher, Herbert Heaton, Walter C. Langsam, Charles W. Ramsdell, Albert B. White; *Duke*, W. H. Callcott, T. D. Clark, W. A. Mabry, A. R. Newsome, F. L. Owsley, Jonathan F. Scott, C. H. Smith, W. H. Stephenson; *Fresno*, Irving S. Kull; *George Peabody College for Teachers*, J. M. Batten, E. T. Parks, Dan Robison; *Harvard*, Derk Bodde, E. Merton Coulter; *Johns Hopkins*, Francis T. Williamson; *Illinois*, Howard Robinson; *Indiana*, George E. McReynolds; *Michigan*, Willis F. Dunbar, James F. King, Dumas Malone, William Willcox, Rudolph A. Winnacker; *Missouri*, Ralph P. Bieber, Bert J. Loewenberg, H. C. Nixon, H. A. DeWeerd; *Nebraska*, Kenneth Björk, A. B. Sageser; *New Mexico*, Louis Knott Koontz, Albert Hyma; *Northwestern*, Avery L. Craven, A. Curtis Wilgus; *Notre Dame*, Francis J. Tschann; *Ohio State*, George F. Howe, T. W. Riker; *Oklahoma*, Clarence H. Cramer, Rupert N. Richardson; *Pennsylvania State*, Hastings Eells, Oswald Wedel; *Rutgers*, Emory Ratcliffe; *Southern California*, Asa E. Martin; *Texas*, Arthur S. Aiton, H. Davenport, Harold Schoen (for the first term), Oscar A. Kinchen, John L. LaMonte, Ernest C. Shearer, Charles Ward (for the second term), W. C. Binkley, John L. Waller (for both terms); *Virginia*, Early Lee Fox, Richard Lee Morton, Thornton Terhune; *West Virginia*, Paul H. Clyde, for the second term; *William and Mary*, Edward Everett Dale, James L. Godfrey; *Wyoming*, Preston Slosson, for the first term.

With the permission of the Massachusetts Historical Society, owner of the manuscripts, the original records of Brook Farm are being edited for publication by Arthur E. Bestor, jr., assistant professor of history in Teachers College, Columbia University. The editor solicits the aid of librarians, scholars, and collectors in locating manuscripts that may not have come to his attention, particularly letters written from Brook Farm or diaries kept by members of the community. Any material addressed to Dr. Bestor will be promptly returned by registered mail, and full acknowledgment will of course be made in the published volume.

Giuseppe Prezzolini, director of the Casa Italiana, Columbia University, is collecting the correspondence of Carlo Botta (1766-1837), Italian historian and author of the first history of the American Revolution. He will be grateful if persons in possession of letters or other material relating to Botta will communicate with him.

Hubertus Loewenstein is visiting lecturer on international relations in the department of history and government at Iowa State College for the current spring quarter.

Dan E. Clark, professor of history at the University of Oregon since 1921, has been appointed to succeed the late Professor R. C. Clark as head of the department.

COMMUNICATIONS

THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I wish to reply briefly to the characterization of the last chapter of my book *The United States and World Organization, 1920-1933* which appeared in a review by Edward Mead Earle in your April, 1939, issue. After sharply disproving of several sections of the book which I believe to be essential parts of an attempt to write a full account of what followed the defeat of the League of Nations in this country, the reviewer disposed of the last chapter with finality—and with it the book itself, for all practical purposes, since a volume which ends in hopeless futility is not likely to contain much substance—in the following terms:

It would be unkind to discuss his concluding chapter "Toward the Future"—written before Berchtesgaden and Godesberg and Munich—except to say that it places American foreign policy in the altogether unrealistic dilemma of "collective security" *vs.* "isolation", "We" or "They". What was unrealistic before Munich is fantastic now.

The chapter in question is an analysis of principles and forces upon which I am wholly willing to risk the judgment of the present and the future. I stand upon the extensive evidence in it that the issue which Professor Earle labeled "altogether unrealistic" is permanently with us, until effective steps in international organization are taken. It was the Munich phase which was "fantastic" and fleeting, not the struggle for a basis of world order which will permit our machine civilization to survive and operate.

D. F. FLEMING.

THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Professor Fleming raises questions of opinion for which the correspondence column of the *American Historical Review* is hardly an appropriate forum. He is perhaps justified in objecting to the use of the word "fantastic", although Webster's *New International Dictionary* (second edition, unabridged) gives as synonyms "visionary" and "chimerical", which convey the meaning that I had in mind. In the circumstances I have reread a considerable portion of Professor Fleming's volume and regret that I cannot see my way clear to making any amendment to what I originally wrote. Nevertheless I am grateful to you for giving me this opportunity to comment on Professor Fleming's letter.

EDWARD MEAD EARLE.